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IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS

281

EDITORIALS

The Fifth Year

283

Food and Lend-Lease

283

Britain and Russia *by Freda Kirchwey*

284

ARTICLES

V for Vituperation *by I. F. Stone*

286

A Peace Plan for Asia *by Maxwell S. Stewart*

287

25 Years Ago in *The Nation*

289

Let's Look at Labor. VII. The Opportunity for Leadership *by Julius Hochman*

290

The Cloying Good Neighbor
by Benjamin Subercaseaux

293

In the Wind

295

POLITICAL WAR

Who Are the Guilty? *by Marcello Maestro*

296

Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus*

298

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Jewish Wife *by Bertolt Brecht*

English Version *by Eric Russell Bentley*

299

Blind Anger *by Reinhold Niebuhr*

300

Sweden's Dilemma *by Blair Bolles*

302

Children under Fire *by Helen G. Sternau*

303

Records *by B. H. Haggin*

305

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

306

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE *by Jack Barrett*

308

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The Shape of Things

THOSE WHO ARE INCLINED TO HOVER WITH anxiety over American-Russian relations must find their nerves somewhat jangled after developments of the past week. Ever since the formation of the Free Germany Committee in Moscow, Stalin's wry announcement that he had not been invited to Quebec, and the recall of Ambassadors Maisky and Litvinov, the atmosphere has been charged with doubt. It would be remarkable if this were not the case, despite Brendan Bracken's fatuous attempt to belittle the ambassadorial shifts as routine diplomatic moves. We sympathize with the desire of the Administration to dispel suspicion, but its chosen method can hardly be said to have cleared the air or inspired confidence. The approach has been threefold: to make no public acknowledgment that any differences exist, to repeat over and over again that relations are "cordial" and that the Soviet government "has been kept fully informed" of all Anglo-American decisions, and to lash out hysterically at critics who suggest that we have not done all we might to satisfy the complaints of our Russian ally. The week was notable for the concentration of statements by the President, the Secretary of State, and Assistant Secretary Berle affirming in the most general terms the solidarity of Soviet-American relations and defending the political record of the State Department. As though in support was Churchill's speech at Quebec, eulogizing the Russians extravagantly while rebuffing their demand for an immediate second front. And to top off the week came Hull's savage assault on Drew Pearson, who had accused the Secretary of wanting to see the Soviets "bled white," and the even more savage coup de grace administered to the columnist by the President of the United States.

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IF THIS BLEND OF DEFENSIVENESS AND truculence betrays nothing so much as an acute attack of jitters in Washington, the alarmed observer will have to look hard for reassurance from other quarters. As if deliberately spurning the verbal advances on this side of the Atlantic, the Soviet government picked this particular week to allow *War and the Working Class*—an increasingly favored, if unofficial, mouthpiece—a field day of criticism at the expense of Britain and the United

States. "Notwithstanding repeated Soviet offers," writes a Russian general in that journal, "the Allies never once expressed a desire to have troops side by side with our armies on the Soviet-German front." The Sicilian campaign once more is belittled and the refusal of the Russians to give our airmen Soviet bases from which to attack the Ploesti oil fields is defended on the ground that we had refused to base aircraft on Russian soil for joint attacks against Germany, the "real enemy." Elsewhere in the magazine the Allied Military Government is raked over the coals as "based on principles which have nothing in common with the principles of democracy." On the brighter side, two steps are informally reported from Washington: a prospective meeting of the foreign ministers of Britain, Russia, and the United States; and the creation of an Allied Mediterranean Commission with Soviet representation. These moves may herald a great deal, or they may prove to be no more than makeshift responses to heightened pressure. The effects of a second front in Western Europe are easier to predict. Lacking the military omniscience of Earl Browder, we do not insist upon that long-awaited operation this afternoon, but when it does come it should in fact sweep away the ugly fog that has settled down over American-Soviet relations.

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WINSTON CHURCHILL CANNOT BE COUNTED on for colorless routine even on the occasion of receiving an honorary degree, and his remarks at Harvard are bound to be variously and vigorously interpreted according to the interests and prejudices of the interpreter. They are sure to be ascribed by some to schemes for an Anglo-American Century and equally sure to be put down by the lunatic, or McCormick, fringe of Anglophobes as the opening gun in a campaign to return the United States to the status quo ante 1776. Hypersensitive Russophiles will perhaps see in its exclusiveness a slight to the Soviets, and naturally there is the usual quota of Republican statesmen who see in this, as in every manifestation human and divine, a facet of the conspiracy to elect Mr. Roosevelt for the fourth time. For our part, we welcome Churchill's proposal to retain the present machinery of Anglo-American cooperation after the war. It seems realistic to us, in the light of the past, to assume that the armistice will find us with no specific plan for the peace. The Anglo-American machinery which is functioning so well in the war offers something in the way of a concrete and already operative basis for further development. Besides the Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee, Mr. Churchill presumably has in mind such effective agencies as the combined boards for shipping adjustment, export markets, food, and production and resources. We would much prefer to see Russia and China, not to mention all the other United Nations, in a workable agency of collaboration immediately after the armistice. But until such

machinery can be set up, it would seem to us inexcusable to permit the extinction of the one tangible advance that has been made in this direction.

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THE ATTACK ON MARCUS ISLAND APPEARS to be more than merely another harassing raid on Japanese outposts. Reports from Tokyo indicate that it was made in great force, with battleships and two or more carriers participating. While there is no evidence that an attempt has yet been made to land troops, the size of the operations suggests that they may be preparatory to an attempt to seize the island. Of all the Pacific islands under Japanese control, Marcus would be the biggest prize at this stage of the war. Unlike Midway, Wake, or most of the other mid-Pacific islands, it has sufficient area for adequate air fields. It is within easy bombing range of Tokyo for Flying Fortresses or Liberators, but it is far enough from other Japanese-controlled islands to make it safe against Japanese land-based fighters and light or medium bombers. Since it lies on the most direct route to Japan proper, some military observers suggest that this sortie may mark the beginning of the main attack against Japan. But there is a strong possibility that it is a feint designed to draw the Japanese navy away from the Bay of Bengal or some other area in which the United Nations are preparing to strike. The secret of successful warfare lies in keeping the enemy guessing.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, WHICH met in New York City last week, registered an overwhelming vote in favor of the Zionist idea. The conference was made up of some 500 delegates elected from every section of the country. Only four voted against the resolution calling for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and these four votes seemed to indicate disagreement principally on the question of timing. The conference's spirited demand for the opening of Palestine to Jewish immigration under control of the Jewish Agency and for immediate nullification of the White Paper of 1939 reflects the tremendous increase of support for the Zionist program among American Jews as a result of events in Europe. Recent reports seem to bear out the assumption that by the end of the war no more than a million and a half—at most two million—Jews will be left alive in Europe. The delegates to the conference apparently made the further assumption that anti-Semitism has been so systematically and widely propagated by the Nazis that the Jews who survive will find it impossible to resume a normal life in Europe. Palestine, on the other hand, now offers, in their opinion, a final solution. Observers recently returned claim that with the development of the system of irrigation and hydro-electric power a million additional Jews can be absorbed into agriculture—and this in turn would open the way for a million new

workers in industry. Certainly the emigration and settlement of those Jews who wish to turn their backs on Europe should be facilitated and the United Nations, acting in concert, should assume the responsibility of working out a permanent policy for Palestine which will take into account the interests and welfare of all concerned. But we cannot accept—and we think it dubious strategy for any minority to accept—the proposition that Jews will not be able to live in Europe after a war fought and won in the name of democracy and racial equality.

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THE BEHAVIOR OF THE RIGHT-WING LEADERS of the Kings County American Labor Party at its recent convention in Brooklyn is vividly described by Richard Rovere in our correspondence pages this week. He draws the obvious lesson from a performance on the part of avowed liberals and democrats which was nothing short of scandalous. Mr. Rovere makes the point that the left wing would have acted no better if the roles had been reversed. What he does not say clearly enough is that it was the Communists who introduced this species of behavior into the proceedings of the A. L. P. and that they have been guilty of it day in and day out since the party's founding. We may be sure that they will exploit for all it is worth the right-wing's use of their own tactics. We hope liberals will not be misled by their crocodile tears. The behavior of the right-wing leaders in Brooklyn was inexcusable; but it does not make the left wing, which started the totalitarian infection, any the more worthy of support.

The Fifth Year

THE superstitious Hitler had no need to consult a soothsayer for evil omens as the fifth year of the war began. At midnight on August 31—four years after the opening of the war—the R. A. F. was over Berlin inflicting the heaviest attack ever suffered by the German capital. Three days later, on the anniversary of England's entry into the war, Montgomery's gallant Eighth Army poured across the narrow Strait of Messina to begin the invasion of the European Fortress. For days American and British airmen had pounded the chief communication centers of southern and central Italy. While military experts say the Italian campaign may take months, there is a strong possibility that Badoglio may surrender to prevent needless destruction. On the other side of Europe, a powerful Russian army is on the march along a 600-mile front. Hitler's invincible Reichswehr is retreating from the fabulously rich coal and iron region of the Donbas; to the north it has already given up a huge area in the Ukraine where Hitler promised to find *Lebensraum* for land-hungry Germans, and it looks as if a forced withdrawal to the Dnieper has begun.

Within Europe rebellion has reached an advanced stage. Denmark, hitherto relatively quiet under the German yoke, has found countless ways to express its anger at Nazi brutality. The scuttling of the larger part of the Danish navy and the escape of the remainder to Sweden must have brought home even to the German people the utter collapse of the much-vaunted "New Order in Europe." While the Germans checked further open demonstrations of Danish feeling with their customary cruelty, the manner in which General von Hanneken vacillated between ruthless repression and attempts at conciliation reflects an uncertainty never before evident in Nazi policy. In southeastern Europe, Bulgaria's future role in the war has become highly uncertain as a result of the death of King Boris. While Premier Philoff seems determined to keep his country among the Axis satellites, there are strong intimations of popular opposition to this course which might easily lead to his overthrow. Should Italy suddenly withdraw from the war, the collapse of the Balkans would probably not be long delayed. Despite all of this, it must be remembered that Hitler still controls virtually the whole of Europe. The fact that a second front has not yet been opened across the English Channel indicates the respect with which the Allied military commanders still regard the German military machine. The occupation of Italy will not weaken the Reich's military power very much. The Russian advance is potentially of greater significance; but the approach of the fall rains makes it doubtful whether a major break-through can be achieved before winter. It is still possible for Alfred Rosenberg to boast that the Ukraine is yielding millions of tons of grain to feed the German army. Although the portents are increasingly favorable, it must not be forgotten that the great battles of the war still lie ahead.

Food and Lend-Lease

WHEN Congress convenes we may expect a flood of demagoguery to make it appear that the American people are going hungry, and agricultural processing industries being disrupted, to supply food for lend-lease. An advance taste of what may be expected was provided by former Governor Alfred M. Landon in a speech at Kansas City last week. Governor Landon, who managed to go through the 1936 presidential campaign without stooping to the cheaper forms of tub-thumping, seems to have lowered his standards since then. "The New Dealers," Landon told the Cooperative Club, "are proposing to take our food—our money—away from our own, and hand it over to someone on the other side of the world. And they think we should say 'thanky sir' while they are doing it." The *Wall Street Journal* charges that the New Deal is about to ruin the livestock industry by putting the American people on a cereal diet so more food can be sent abroad.

It would be to the credit of the American people if, at a time when other peoples are starving in the United Nations' cause, we really pulled in our belts to help feed them. But the principal reason for the supposed food shortage is that in normal times many Americans do not earn enough money to eat decently, and comparatively few can afford to feed themselves as well as Uncle Sam feeds them in the army. Increased civilian purchasing power and army requirements, rather than shipments abroad, account for most of the food stringency at a time when crops are the greatest in our history. Actually, as we pointed out in an editorial paragraph last week, we are shipping less food abroad in this war than we did in the last.

We summarize the figures given in the President's latest lend-lease report to Congress because so few papers paid any attention to them and because lend-lease food shipments are likely to be so prominent in Congressional oratory. Here is a comparison of food shipments now and then:

(000,000 Omitted)	(000,000 Omitted)
1915\$ 978	1940 \$255
1916 1,085	1941 530
1917 1,331	1942 993

And here is the comparison in terms of percentage of food output exported, whether under lend-lease or for cash:

1917 16.6%	1941 5.5%
1918 20.0%	1942 8.0%
1919 24.4%	1943 11.0%

These figures should be read in the light of the fact that many Allied countries, by reverse lend-lease, are providing large quantities of food for American troops stationed on their territories.

During the first half of this year, lend-lease cut most deeply into our supplies of dry skimmed milk, (41.8 per cent), canned fish (31.4 per cent), and dried fruits (20.1 per cent). But it took only 7.7 per cent of our meat output and 0.1 per cent of our butter. The beef taken by lend-lease "was one per cent of our supply for that period, an amount equivalent to two-tenths of an ounce per week for each person in the United States." By comparison the needs of our Allies are severe, their diets at rock-bottom. Before the war, the United Kingdom produced only 40 per cent of its food needs. In the Soviet Union about 40 per cent of the most fertile crop land has at one time or another been under Nazi control. "The Nazis," the President's lend-lease report says, "now occupy for the third consecutive growing season one of Russia's greatest agricultural regions, the Ukraine. In the summer of 1942, the Nazis also overran her second great agricultural region, the North Caucasus." Americans are enjoying princely fare compared to the rations of the British and the Russians.

Britain and Russia

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

London, September 2, by cable

IN New York whenever an international crisis boils up we wonder what people in Britain are saying. And we seldom find out until the newspapers arrive from England three or four weeks later, by which time some new event has usually stolen the show.

Today Britain is talking about Russia, and I hope a report of some of its remarks will be interesting to Americans. But readers should be wary. Criticism of foreign policy, especially if it involves American foreign policy, is very restrained. Indeed, caution and politeness are carried to an extreme, and one must look under the camouflage to get an indiluted opinion.

Before getting down to details, I want to report that the reception by the press of the Prime Minister's Quebec speech was friendly but rather guarded. The *Daily Herald* said the public reaction would be that the powers should stop talking about meeting and meet. The *Manchester Guardian* also urged an early tripartite conference. The *News Chronicle*, welcoming Mr. Churchill's remarks as a hint that things were moving at last, said his recognition of the "paramount importance of a coordinated political policy for all the Allies" was the outstanding pronouncement of the speech. It concluded, "As things stand, there is a danger of our winning the war in the field before we have settled the broad foundations on which Europe's future must be built. That would be sheer tragedy." The *Times* approved the Prime Minister's statements "provided that the practical measures come up to specifications." The *Worker*, as might be expected, was politely gloomy, demanding both talks and a second front without further delay.

Of course the presence of Maisky in London offers hope that conversations will at least take place despite Hull's non-committal remarks yesterday. But most objective people with whom I have talked are pessimistic about basic tendencies. Some look upon America as the devil in the piece and cite the current reactionary swing as an omen of worse ills to come. But many feel that in Britain as in the United States the expectation of victory, together with the enormous industrial and military operations, have as usual planted in the saddle men who naturally operate through old-established power relationships. The most optimistic views, strangely enough, have been expressed by certain leaders of the exile governments, and their hopes are frankly based on the great and growing strength of Russia.

So much for generalizations. A few samples of recent press opinion are worth quoting. Last week's *New Statesman and Nation*, appearing while the Quebec conference was still in progress, discussed at some length the prob-

lems that lie just under the surface of diplomatic negotiations. It scouted the idea of a separate peace but said that Stalin, "disappointed by the military contribution of the Western democracies to the common war against Germany and estranged by their approach to the political problems of the post-war settlement, might steer the U. S. S. R. on an independent course." Those are vague if ominous words. More specifically the journal argued that the ideological aims of the war are visibly changing: as victory approaches we find the great powers looking toward a restoration of the status quo ante bellum. It reviewed the long list of deals and reactionary arrangements and declared that Stalin doubtless sees in all this a purpose to install in Europe "non-political" administrations agreeable to Britain and the United States—even including resurrection of Pétain if necessary. It sees little in the apparent attitude of Roosevelt or in the resignation of Welles to encourage hope that matters will be mended. And it mentions as a typical symptom of America's state of mind an article in the *New York Times* describing Washington's policy toward Russia as based on "principle" instead of on "opportunism" as in the case of the British.

Even the *London Times*, which speaks with vast care, has insisted upon the need for closer coordination, political as well as military, with Russia. A recent editorial, for example, points out the futility of any policy toward Germany which lacks the full assent and collaboration of Russia. There are, it says, two possible bases for this collaboration. The first would be an arrangement by which Russia and the Western powers "concert together broad measures of policy applicable, in consultation with the smaller countries concerned, to Europe as a whole. . . . The second would be an arrangement by which Britain or Britain and the United States accepted the main responsibility for the organization of security in Western Europe and Russia in Eastern Europe, each cooperating with the countries in its own sphere but each renouncing any responsibility in the appointed sphere of the other. The arguments in favor of the first solution are exceedingly strong and British and American, as well as Russian, opinion appears overwhelmingly to support it. Yet by a baffling paradox British and American action in the past few weeks has perhaps unconsciously, but no less decisively, pointed toward the second solution. A failure to secure the participation of Russia in decisions of political import in Italy might appear to justify similar decisions elsewhere being taken by Russia without consultation and thus pave the way for the division of Europe into divergent spheres of responsibility." There is dynamite concealed in those measured phrases.

And curiously the same idea is developed to a more explicit and drastic conclusion in the current issue of the left weekly *Tribune*. In a most challenging analysis of the Russian campaign, that journal flatly declared that

Stalin has embarked on a new foreign policy. The old methods of dealing with the West and the old ambassadors appointed to carry those methods into effect have failed to bring results. In place of Maisky and Litvinov, Stalin "has sent two young tough patriotic Soviet citizens who, above all, understand Russian interests in Eastern Europe. They will be found to be something new in diplomacy. . . ." The *Tribune*, like the *New Statesman*, assumes Russia is fed up with the delay in opening a Western front, with the Darlan-Mihailovich-AMG policy, and with the threat of an anti-Soviet federation in Eastern Europe. It interprets as evidence of Russia's new line its territorial claims in the Ukraine, White Russia, and the Baltic, and the abolition of the Comintern as another step toward "a more clearly determined national policy." The new magazine, *War and the Working Class*, is described as a shrewdly devised means of expressing demands and views which the government is not ready officially to sponsor. The article quotes a series of statements put out by the Free Germany Committee in Moscow as indicating that the Russians instead of demanding unconditional surrender would be prepared to deal with a German government which had overthrown the Hitler régime and withdrawn behind the frontier in the East. This, says the *Tribune*, "is not official policy—yet." It believes that the only hope of countering this trend lies in prompt action to overcome Russian suspicions, and it proposes the following three steps: large scale military operations on the Continent coordinated with offensives on the eastern front, acceptance of Russia's territorial claims, and an end to the practice of supporting "men and cliques who have only the backing of unpopular reactionary groups."

The fear that Russia will adopt a lone-wolf role as either a nationalist or a revolutionary power or both is very general. But many people assume that Britain will prevent this catastrophe. Even officials with whom I have talked, however cautious they might be about commenting on American policy, have insisted that Britain will stick to its Russian alliance at any cost. "We live too close to the Continent," they say. They realize that European equilibrium requires Russian collaboration. The position was put very simply by a member, not of the British, but of an Allied exile government. "Russia," he said, "will take whatever it thinks it needs for its own security. Great Britain and your country know this. Why do they act as if it were not so? Why not, for a change, recognize the facts and then try to create a situation so nice and reassuring that Russia will have fewer fears, fewer suspicions, and will want less." It is so obvious that I think it will happen. I admit the obvious often has not happened. But the war has perhaps taught people what logic could not. In any case, I think a sensible policy toward Russia will be agreed upon, if only because the alternative is really a little too nasty and dangerous to contemplate.

V for Vituperation

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 2

THE Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press was pleased, but most Washington correspondents were shocked, by the President's unprecedented, ill-tempered, and unfair attack on Drew Pearson as "a chronic liar." Relations among the correspondents are generally friendly, irrespective of political differences, and there is a certain professional solidarity. Distrust of the White House is widespread, on the left as well as on the right, and many felt, as Raymond Clapper said, that "it is barely possible they are using Pearson to put the fear of God into all of us." To be called "a chronic liar" by the President is a deadly blow for any correspondent, but one can hardly take Mr. Roosevelt into court and demand that he either prove his words or eat them. It was rumored at first that Pearson's Merry-Go-Round column might be dropped from the *Washington Post*, and relief and admiration were widespread when its publisher, Eugene Meyer, who grows steadily more progressive, came to his columnist's defense in a vigorous editorial. The *Post* regarded the President's conduct as "unworthy" and "unbecoming" and "a gross libel on some fearless and necessary work done by Mr. Pearson."

Like the rest of us, Drew Pearson has made his quota of mistakes, but "chronic liar" is a strong term and the press corps has long memories. It easily recalls the many occasions on which the State Department—and the White House—has indignantly denied Merry-Go-Round stories which were later confirmed. The destroyers-for-bases deal with Britain was one of them. The \$100,000,000 loan the State Department wanted to make Franco was another. Hull has been quarreling with Pearson for a long time, at least since 1938, when the Secretary publicly denounced the columnist for revealing that the State Department was permitting the sale of arms to Germany in violation of our 1921 treaty with the Reich. It can fairly be said that the State Department has chronically misrepresented to the American people the facts concerning our foreign relations, and the White House itself does not come into the controversy with clean hands. I cite the amazing statement made by the President to Congress last January 7: "Even today we are flying as much lend-lease material into China as ever traversed the Burma road"—an assertion that bewildered us and embittered the Chinese.

Much more than Pearson's reputation is involved in this affair. It has raised the most serious questions in the minds of all of us. The first and most important concerns our relations with the Soviet Union. Arthur Krock,

whose staunch defense of the President and Hull in this case is amusing and significant, suggests that they attacked Pearson in order to prove their friendship for the Russians. It seems strange that the goat picked for this worthy purpose was not one of the anti-Soviet brigade but a man who has been consistently anti-fascist and pro-Soviet. An attack on anti-fascist newspapermen is certainly the feeblest alternative to a second front that has yet been suggested. Pearson called Hull anti-Soviet, and Krock says the President and the Secretary "feared the Russians might believe it, and decided to take no chances." The best that can be said of this is that it is naive. The Russians have been dealing with the State Department for a good many years, unofficially before 1933, officially since. Their personal contacts and negotiations with its members have given them far broader bases of information and judgment than anything the best newspapermen can obtain from the outside. The President certainly understands, if his Secretary doesn't, that neither Pearson's assertions nor Hull's denials are likely to affect the views of the Kremlin.

The conclusion most of us find inescapable is that the two Hull statements and the remarks of the President were intended for home consumption. While the State Department has been doing a good deal of whistling in the dark over Russian affairs, officials here are genuinely worried. They are worried over the possibility of a separate peace by a victorious Russia with a vanquished Germany, and perhaps even more over the blame that would accrue to them at home in such an eventuality. I think Hull can honestly deny that he literally wants to see the Soviet Union bled white, but I wouldn't say as much for all his advisers; and if the Russians weren't as strong as they are, they would hardly be saved from that fate by Mr. Hull's policies. But the Secretary is smart enough as a politician to realize the danger of a domestic uproar over deterioration in our relations with Russia. The left was blamed for endangering the lives of American soldiers by its inability to swallow Darlanism in North Africa. Is the Administration now maneuvering to blame the left if our relations with Russia go sour?

One of the reasons why the President and Hull may be so bitter against Pearson and other Washington correspondents who took up the defense of Welles is that both are startled by the reaction of the country to the Under Secretary's forced resignation. Neither dreamt that Welles was so highly regarded. The repercussions of the press in the United States—and in Latin America—indicate how closely Welles's fate is linked in the

popular mind with the future of our Russian relations, and how much value is attached to those relations in all ranks of the population. Hull had hoped that by announcing the resignation of Welles and the appointment of his successor at the same time, he would avoid much debate. Roosevelt had hoped that by appointing Welles to a roving ambassadorship, he could similarly avoid a debate in which severe criticism of Hull was inevitable. The leak of the news to the press gravely embarrassed both Hull and the President and upset their plans so badly that although Welles's resignation was accepted on August 22, it has yet to be announced. Hull is now so angry that it is difficult for the President to give Welles another diplomatic assignment, but the clamor over Welles, on the other hand, is so great as to make it politically unwise to drop him altogether. This is the President's dilemma and the source of his annoyance.

The Pearson affair may have domestic political consequences. It is only the latest example of Roosevelt's contemptuous attitude toward those who have been his most

consistent journalistic supporters; the slap at Samuel Grafton was another. Pearson is one of the few who have defended the New Deal in columns published by a long list of anti-New Deal papers. It has not been easy for him to do that, and the President's attitude toward him makes us wonder about his attitude toward the rest of us. Is he, on his present rightward course, trying to demonstrate that he has as little use for the pro-New Deal journalists as the anti-New Dealers have? Certainly he never called Mark Sullivan or David Lawrence or Arthur Krock or Frank Kent "a chronic liar" even in the days of their bitterest campaigns against him. This rift between the President and his veteran supporters will be welcomed at the State Department, where it will be taken as further evidence of Hull's political agility. Until now, Roosevelt has used the department as a lightning rod to divert public criticism of the Administration's foreign policy. Hull has now maneuvered the President into the front-line trenches, and into a head-on collision with New Deal forces.

A Peace Plan for Asia

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE Japanese have always insisted that the Western nations do not understand the peculiar ways of the East, and that a system of world organization which might keep the peace in Europe and America would not work in the Orient. This, of course, is largely nonsense. The idea was manufactured chiefly for home consumption to justify Japan's violation of all of the laws of nations. But there is just enough truth in the statement to make it worth discussion. It is perfectly clear that the concept of world citizenship is not yet understood in Japan, or in most of the vast Pacific area. And all Oriental peoples have suffered sufficiently from the white man's imperialism to distrust a system of world organization that appears to give white men continued domination.

Most of these peoples have, by now, had a taste of Japanese domination and they would probably prefer to return to Western rule. I say "probably" because there is very little real information as to what is happening in the Japanese-occupied areas. Some reports indicate that the Japanese have been fairly successful in setting up puppet governments in certain areas, and there are doubtless groups in every occupied area that would rather have the Japanese than the white man. But it is likely that a great majority of the Eastern people will be ready to help in any settlement that excludes the Japanese. For their sake as well as for our own and the future peace of

the world, it is imperative, then, that Japanese military power be crushed completely. Japan, in its way, is fully as serious a problem as Germany. The military tradition is deeply imbedded in the Japanese mind. The people are readily disciplined, fanatically loyal to their Emperor, and extremely ambitious for national glory. As the most highly industrialized country in Asia, Japan will undoubtedly try again for dominance unless it is destroyed militarily beyond hope of recovery.

Fortunately Japan can be destroyed militarily without imposing fresh burdens on the Japanese people. The basis of Japan's present strength is in its empire. Its naval and air strength has been multiplied severalfold by its possession of strong and widely scattered bases in Korea, Manchuria, Formosa, Hainan, and the mandated islands of the South Seas. Korea has furnished cheap labor; Manchuria has provided much of the iron and some of the coal of Japan's newly developed armament industry; North China has some coal and iron and is a rich source of salt, cotton, and cheap man-power; while Sakhalin has been the most convenient source of oil.

Manchuria and North China are, of course, integral parts of China and should be restored in entirety to that country without any strings. Formosa is in much the same category. Although it was taken from the old Manchu Empire fifty years ago, it is inhabited almost entirely by Chinese and should be regarded as part of China. Japan's

outlying island possessions, including the mandated islands, have no link to any other country. If the United Nations take these ill-gotten possessions from Tokyo and place them in more constructive hands, and destroy the Japanese navy, Japan will have lost much of its capacity to menace the peace of the world.

This will be particularly true if China is given every opportunity to develop into a world power. China has made great strides in the past twenty years. It has attained a greater degree of political unity than at any other time in modern history. Thousands of miles of modern highways have been opened up, linking the rich interior provinces with commercial towns on the seacoast. Some railways have been built, and there has been some industrial development in the far interior. By our standards, however, China is still a non-industrial country. What factories it has are chiefly devoted to textiles and light manufacturing. China has no steel industry worthy of the name and no aluminum industry; it lags behind India in its capacity to turn out the tools of war. It has fewer miles of railroad per person than any other important country in the world. If China is to be strong enough to discourage further aggressive tendencies on the part of Japan, it must receive help from the United Nations in developing a modern industry, in expanding its transportation facilities, and in reconstructing its agriculture.

China can support a modern industry only if its four hundred million peasant farmers become more productive. When we speak of increasing farm production, we are likely to think of tractors, combines, commercial fertilizers, and rotation of crops. None of these would mean much to China under present conditions. The average Chinese farm is much too small to apply the methods of large-scale cultivation used in this country, and the Chinese peasant has little to learn from us, apart from seed selection, regarding agricultural methods suitable to his small plots. Our methods of cultivation could be used only by the development of cooperative or state farms such as may be found in the Soviet Union. In many areas the Chinese farmer is desperately handicapped, however, by an archaic system of land tenure, heavy indebtedness at usurious interest rates, and lack of capital for even his simple operations. And much of China is too dry for intensive farming. Its agricultural production could be greatly increased by new irrigation projects to supplement those that have been in existence for thousands of years. United Nations assistance might well be made available also in encouraging mass education on the pattern set years ago by the American-trained Jimmie Yen, and in extending the public-health activities started by the Health Section of the League of Nations. This is an ambitious program, but there is no task facing us in the post-war period of greater importance than the strengthening of China so that it may take its rightful place of leadership in the Far East.

This does not mean that America can safely abandon all interest in Asia after we have helped place China on its feet after the war. For years before December 7, 1941, many Americans argued that we had no stake in the Far East worth fighting for, and that we should withdraw altogether. For all practical purposes, Washington accepted that argument. It did not even object strenuously when Japan took over Manchuria and North China and froze American trade out of that area by a series of special regulations. It protested the sinking of the Panay, but took no retaliatory step. It arranged to give up the Philippines. And long after it became clear that Japan had embarked on a career of aggression and conquest, we continued to provide it with vast quantities of oil, copper, scrap iron, and other sinews of war. Previously when trouble imperiling our interests threatened in the Far East, we rushed troops and warships to the scene. But in the face of Japanese aggression we withdrew our troops and marines from China and kept our so-called Asiatic fleet at token size.

Obviously, it would have been a risky policy for the United States to have stood alone against Japanese aggression during the decade from 1931 to 1941. But it would have been less risky than the futile attempt to run away from our responsibilities. For it is now evident that we had a stake in the Far East that was very much worth fighting for—a commercial stake in the oil, rubber, and tin of the East Indies, a political and strategic stake in the Philippines, and, above all, a stake in preserving the rights of weak nations lest anarchy spread over the world and engulf us in a titanic struggle against great odds.

The Nine-Power Pact was meant to keep us in Asia, and to protect the peace by joint action of all the powers. But the Nine-Power Pact had many defects. It was an imperialist instrument which assumed special rights for the foreign powers, including Japan, in China. Although it supposedly guaranteed the Chinese Republic's sovereignty and administrative integrity, the pact had no teeth and was never taken seriously by some of the signatories, notably Japan. Furthermore, although Belgium, Italy, and several other countries with minor interests in the Far East participated in the Washington Conference which formulated the agreement, the Soviet Union—which ranks as one of the greatest of the Pacific powers—was not represented.

Probably the most effective way of tackling the special problems of the East would be through the creation of a permanent Pacific council. This council would presumably function as a branch of a World Council and would have delegated authority over all matters pertaining to the Pacific. Membership in the council should be restricted to the countries having vital interests in the Pacific area. In addition to the Big Four of the United Nations—America, Britain, China, and Russia—Australia, New Zealand, India, an Indonesian federation,

the Philippines, and Japan should be adequately represented. It might be found desirable to set up a separate international court for disputes originating in this region. But the foundation of peace in the Pacific, temporarily at least, must be an implemented Pacific security pact in which all of the participating nations agree, acting through a world council, if possible, to safeguard each other's territorial integrity. Ultimately, the enforcement of such an arrangement should be put in the hands of an international army, but until such an army is created the United Nations must assume the obligation.

One thing is very clear about the post-war organization of the Pacific area. The preponderance of power must rest with the Pacific peoples themselves and not with Western nations that have "interests" in the Pacific. It must, in other words, be free from the taint of imperialism. What success Japan has had in gaining the support of other Asiatic peoples has been achieved by capitalizing on the existing resentment against the white man's rule. It will doubtless be argued at the peace table, as it has been so frequently in the past, that the Western nations are more enlightened than others and that therefore they are more likely to have the welfare of the native population at heart than native rulers. This may or may not be true in parts of the Orient, but it certainly is not true of the Orient as a whole. Some form of international supervision may be necessary for years to come in Indonesia, the Pacific islands, Indo-China, and possibly Korea. But that must not be taken as an excuse for the perpetuation of white man's rule. The supervision should be in the hands of a Pacific council, in which Chinese, Indian, Australian, and Filipino influence would be predominant.

Because democracy has never gained roots in Asia, many observers exclude the peoples of the Orient from consideration in determining the final settlement. This has been possible in the past; in fact, little else has been possible. But the war has given a new sense of dignity and responsibility to the peoples of this region. They have seen the white man's power collapse because it ignored the potentialities of the common people. In China, millions of farmers and village folk have not only ruled themselves these past years but have started to build up a cooperative industry and have conducted constant guerrilla warfare against the Japanese without help from their central government. India and Indonesia have also experienced a democratic awakening. All of this is, of course, just a beginning. Large parts of Asia are still politically backward and wholly unprepared for the responsibilities of democracy. But it is vital that every step of international organization in this region give the utmost encouragement and assistance to the growth of democratic aspirations. For in Asia, as in the rest of the world, the only final guarantee of peace lies in making government policies subservient to the will of the people.

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE MORE the plans of the Allies who are intervening in Russia are unfolded, the more dubious becomes the outlook. . . . Meantime it is apparent enough that Russia is seething with revolution. The reported death of Lenin by assassination turns out to have been untrue; but the presence of foreign troops, supporting one government here and opposing another there, will encourage every revolutionary group or faction which aspires to make something out of the disorder to try its hand.—*September 7, 1918.*

APART from the prosecution of the war itself, there is no more urgent problem before the American people than that created by the threatened collapse of the teaching profession. . . . The critical situation of our schools will never be genuinely remedied so long as teachers' services are regarded as a commodity to be purchased at the cheapest obtainable rate.—JOSEPH SWAIN, *September 7, 1918.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: Barrie, J. M., "The Admirable Crichton" . . . Barbusse, H., "The Inferno" . . . Drieser, T., "Free and Other Stories."—*September 14, 1918.*

THE CLOSING of Camp Upton to the public furnishes abundant evidence of the serious menace of the Spanish influenza epidemic. Boston reports sixteen deaths in six hours from the disease—ten of them among naval men. . . . Surgeon-General Rupert Blue, of the United States Public Health Service, has expressed fear that the disease may spread over the entire country within the next six weeks.—*September 21, 1918.*

THERE HAS come before us a remarkable manifesto signed by a number of socially prominent women, protesting against the playing of bridge in war time. "We believe," says the preamble, "that by playing bridge men and women of wealth and leisure give to the exponents of class hatred a weapon to wield against the unity of the United States and its long-cherished institutions." . . . Can the Socialists, we ask impatiently, stand unmoved in the face of such august, such stupendous sacrifice? Will the I. W. W. never be satisfied? Will not Eugene Debs and Emma Goldman hear the tidings in their seclusion and hang their heads in shame at their low and revolting agitation against a society capable of purging itself thus relentlessly?—*September 28, 1918.*

LUSTRA, by Ezra Pound. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$1.50 net. . . . Mr. Pound delights in the semblance of passion, while scarcely valuing its reality. . . . His rich variety of accomplishment has left him in a sense unschooled. . . . He who forsakes the wife will often forsake the mistress, and beauty perhaps will not reap an abiding loyalty from those who have renounced all other loyalties in its behalf.—O. W. FIRKINS, *September 28, 1918.*

Let's Look at Labor

VII. THE OPPORTUNITY FOR LEADERSHIP

BY JULIUS HOCHMAN

LABOR is worried. The passage of the Smith-Connally Act over the President's veto last June came as a terrific shock, powerful enough to stir labor leaders into action. William Green announced soon after that the American Federation of Labor was determined to defeat every Congressman who had voted for the bill. The Congress of Industrial Organizations set up a Committee for Political Action and called upon its affiliates to prepare for the 1944 elections. Similar moves to accumulate and apply political pressure to the best effect were initiated by labor groups in a number of states and communities.

Yet, for all this activity, there is something disappointing in the lack of realization on the part of the labor movement that the Smith-Connally Act is more than an isolated incident. It is in fact the newest link in a chain of events that has been in the making for years. The very forces that put over the Smith-Connally Act are still at work. Their program embraces the nullification or dilution of the labor and social-security legislation of the past decade and has as its basic aim the destruction of the trade-union movement.

In summing up the history of the American labor movement, Selig Perlman and Philip Taft, in their "Labor Movement, 1896-1932," have this to say about the attitude of American employers toward unionism:

To the American labor movement the conquest of the right to exist was ever its paramount problem. . . . To American employers unionism has always remained the invader and usurper to be expelled at the first opportunity. American employers were endowed by America's history with a will to power unrivaled for persistence and effectiveness by employers of other countries . . . for unionism, however conservative in its objectives, is still a campaign against the absolute rights of private property of the employer.

This attitude on the part of management prevails today, as it did in 1932. Neither the depression, nor the New Deal, nor the war, has had any effect upon our industrial totalitarians. The catastrophe of 1929 shook their self-confidence. They wavered and were uncertain for the first time in decades. But by 1933 the National Association of Manufacturers, the spokesman of totalitarian industrialism in America since the beginning of the century, was back in the fight, seeking ways and means of rehabilitating its damaged prestige. Not all

employers are members of the N. A. M., of course, and many important industrialists are out of sympathy with its aims and methods. Because of the gigantic corporations that control the N. A. M., however, it sets the pace and provides the leadership for the great mass of business men and manufacturers.

American industrialism after 1929 felt the impact of antagonistic public opinion. The New Deal, in lightning succession, could enact laws that had in the past been bitterly and successfully opposed by the N. A. M. Much of this legislation was aimed at eliminating the anti-labor weapons so dear to that organization. Public opinion was behind the President, and the N. A. M. could do nothing to stop him. The next best thing was to see to it that the achievements of the New Deal should be merely temporary. To accomplish this the N. A. M., through its National Industrial Information Committee, entered upon a campaign of "public relations."

Whatever the N. A. M. does it does in a big way. As usual, experts were engaged, surveys were made, and a public-relations policy was evolved. The objective was quite simple: to identify "management" with everything good in American life and to make the public believe that any interference with the totalitarian power of industry was somehow treasonable.

THE BILL OF GOODS

America's entry into the war provided the opportunity. The need for immediate conversion to war industries and for immense expansion of industrial production was eagerly seized upon by the public-relations counselors of the N. A. M. and the great corporations as the point of vantage upon which industry's prestige could be rebuilt. All credit for the war effort was to be appropriated for industry, while the blame for any shortcomings that might arise was to be shifted to labor and the New Deal. All of the resources at the command of the N. A. M. were thrown into the effort. Labor was pictured as a selfish, arrogant group seeking only personal gain at the expense of the nation at war; the New Deal as a "bungling bureaucracy" constantly hampering "industrial genius and efficiency." Fabulous sums were and are being poured into this campaign, and the press has proved only too eager to help. As a result a picture has been created in the public mind completely out of focus with the truth.

Although the facts show that organized labor has loyally adhered to its no-strike pledge (99.95 per cent compliance), the average citizen and the average member of our armed forces believe that workers are constantly on strike. Although absenteeism has been proven to be due to many causes—most of which are the responsibility of management—millions of people throughout the country and in the armed forces are convinced that it is wilful abstention from work on the part of union labor that is slowing down production. Although organized labor has accepted a ceiling on wages in the face of constantly rising prices, while corporation profits and executive salaries are rising daily, the public at large is convinced that union workers are coining big money out of the war in callous disregard for the national need. The public's natural fear of bigness, born of its bitter experiences with trusts and monopolies, has been skilfully deflected into a fear of the growing size and influence of the trade-union movement.

Political activity has never been overlooked by the N. A. M. Continued Roosevelt majorities were disheartening to its leaders, but they accepted the election of 1942 as a victory won largely through their efforts and as a go-ahead signal to intensify their political campaign. Their success so far is damaging enough, but it is to be regarded as merely a softening-up process for the final blow. Should the N. A. M. succeed in keeping public opinion in its present temper, it will utilize the transition from war to peace-time production, with its painful problems of demobilization and dislocation, as the occasion for delivering the long-planned knock-out of the labor movement. It will by no means be a one-sided fight. Labor will not take this threat to its existence lying down. The determination of the organized employers to crush the trade unions will be matched by the unconquerable will to live that American organized labor has displayed throughout the century and a half of its existence.

Should such a battle have to be fought, the costs to the nation would be incalculable. The struggle would deal the country a stunning blow economically and would seriously interfere with the fulfilment of our obligations in the post-war world, not to mention the severe strain to which it would subject our whole social fabric. Therefore, the most vital task confronting organized labor today is to recognize the danger ahead and take steps to head off the clash before it is too late.

The winning of public opinion is the pivotal point in this task. Labor's position will remain precarious until the trade-union movement achieves acceptance and recognition by the public as a permanent and basic institution of American life. Unless labor secures this one fundamental condition, all other achievements necessarily remain in jeopardy.

The task is not impossible. The N. A. M. has not won the public to its side to the degree which its propagand-

ists would have us believe. The average man is not yet convinced of an "all-consuming interest in the public welfare" on the part of the corporations that make up the N. A. M. On the contrary, there is discernible the resurgence of suspicion in the public mind that these groups are again angling for a strangle hold on the political and economic life of the country.

Nevertheless labor's own position with the public is not good, and this unfortunate circumstance can be changed only by positive action. There are many issues on the home front which afford labor an opportunity to serve the vital interests of the general public and to win an immediate and wide following. The first of these is inflation.

The rising cost of living affects all consumers. It is the most serious immediate problem facing all classes of the population. Congress has played politics with inflation. It has done everything possible to discredit and hamstring the Office of Price Administration and to obstruct the President's program on prices. Big business has tried to soft-pedal the issue, and the press has been neutral. Labor has a magnificent opportunity to rise to its responsibility, to become the champion and spokesman of great masses of the American public. On the basis of a broadly conceived program against inflation the labor movement could take the initiative by launching an educational campaign, by calling conferences and meetings throughout the country, and by using the machinery of the labor movement for the circulation of petitions asking Congress to take effective measures against further price rises and effect a roll-back of prices in conformity with the President's program. Millions would join with labor in demanding that Congress appropriate sufficient funds for enforcement of price regulations and elimination of the black-market scourge. Most state and city governments have thus far done nothing to compel observance of price ceilings. They should be petitioned to take immediate and effective measures to compel compliance. By a campaign of this scope labor would emerge as the recognized leader of a great public movement in the national interest.

THE POLITICAL FRONT

Despite the obvious importance of immediate issues, however, labor's principal concern must be to plan and put into effect a broad public-relations policy which would find expression in an active and extensive participation in American politics. Labor must realize that its ability to function in our complicated modern democracy is closely tied up with the functioning of our government. The greatest gains in the history of the American labor movement were achieved during the past decade. These gains would have been impossible without the social reforms embodied in New Deal legislation, without an executive branch sympathetic to the purposes of

these laws and determined to enforce them, and without the evolution of the judicial attitude from the standards of the injunction era into an enlightened comprehension of modern social processes. Understanding the vital and positive link between progressive government and a progressive trade-union movement, labor must make its organized influence felt as strongly on the political front as on the industrial.

Labor cannot, however, achieve these objectives unless it enters into a permanent working partnership with other elements of the population. There is a sound basis for close relations between labor and the general public. Other groups whose aims and aspirations are not incompatible with organized labor feel the same need for legislative action. They too are concerned with preserving the social advances of the past decade and want to beat back the attacks of industrial totalitarianism. An alliance between organized labor and many of these social groups, gradually cemented by common action on vital issues, should take permanent form. A conference should be called to deal not only with immediate issues but also with broader general problems, such as the development of a post-war program that will really tackle the tremendous problems of demobilization, including adequate provision for the ten or more million men returning to civilian life, the reconversion of industry to peace-time production, and the probability of general unemployment. All the New Deal legislation of the past ten years should be surveyed and needed improvements worked out jointly.

Permanent public-policy committees might be established which would function nationally, by states, and locally. Fortunately labor has bases in practically every community in the country around which local committees could be built. Such an organization could bring an immense weight to bear at the polls if its members united in support of candidates who genuinely accepted its program. Labor could thus continue its non-partisan political policy, while rendering it far more effective by bringing many other groups within its orbit. The committees would, of course, have to be kept active between elections to see that public officials supported by them stood by their pledges. Such an approach would prove of momentous significance for the inner life of the labor movement as well as for the country as a whole. A purposeful, well-planned campaign along the lines suggested here would electrify the rank and file of the trade unions and enormously stimulate their morale.

A program of such dimensions calls for a large, professional public-relations department under expert leadership. This agency should include an extensive research staff which, among other tasks, would conduct periodic polls to determine public attitudes and test techniques. Its function would be to develop and carry out a broad, long-range program of keeping the public informed of

labor's aims and aspirations in the war and post-war world. It would tell the story of labor's record as a force for democracy, its achievements in behalf of the nation in peace and in war. And, it would serve to focus attention on the really vital issues affecting public welfare. While the main emphasis should be positive, the correction of misinformation in the press and on the radio should not be neglected.

THE PROBLEM OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY

One may well ask why labor has done so little to win public sympathy. The reason lies partly in the rapid growth of trade-unionism in the last few years and partly in the organizational structure of trade unions. It should be remembered that for fifteen years before the New Deal labor could do little more than fight a disheartening series of rear-guard actions, and that even since 1933 much of its energy has been absorbed in winning the elementary right of collective bargaining and in defensive struggles to keep what it has gained. It has had to fight every inch of the way against the evasive tactics of large corporations determined to elude the provisions of the Wagner Act and other statutes designed to safeguard labor. The greater part of the trade-union movement as we know it today—nearly the whole of the C. I. O. and much of the A. F. of L. as well—is the creation of the past decade, and the unionization of most of the basic industries has occurred in little more than half that period. Moreover, this rapid expansion in numbers, power, and influence has been accompanied by a split in labor's ranks. Its strength has been drained off in a futile struggle for supremacy by contending groups.

The second major factor in the situation is the organizational structure of the unions. The average union man centers his loyalty upon the immediate organization that gives him economic security and control over his job, and that is usually his local union. The international union absorbs much less of his attention, and very little thought indeed is given to that rather remote entity, the general labor movement. Traditionally and constitutionally, the A. F. of L.—and particularly its executive council, which acts for the federation between conventions—has quite restricted powers. The autonomy of the affiliated internationals is very real and is jealously guarded. Within the C. I. O. matters are somewhat different, but not as different as may appear on the surface. Yet, if a public-relations program is to have any promise of success, it must be centrally guided and directed, adequately financed, and endowed with sufficient prestige to speak for organized labor. A way must be found to concentrate authority in this field without interfering with the essential autonomy of the affiliated unions.

A public-relations policy for labor does not mean a hastily conceived, tricky publicity campaign, based on clever catchwords. The broad, long-range strategy out-

lined here is designed to build a solid foundation of common understanding between labor and the general public. The nation itself will be the greatest beneficiary of such an understanding. The basis exists, awaiting only the initiative of a great, well-organized, and dynamic

social force. Everything points to organized labor as that force.

[This is the seventh article of a series of eight on the problems confronting the American labor movement. The eighth will appear in two weeks.]

The Cloying Good Neighbor

BY BENJAMIN SUBERCASEAUX

Santiago de Chile, August 28

WE ALL know that it is easier to build a ship in ten days than to change a South American into a Yankee in the same length of time or teach a North American to speak Spanish. That is why I have been irritated by the standardized, mechanical, and unimaginative applications of the Good Neighbor Policy. As a South American, I have no patience with North American magazines that publish articles pointing out our virtues. I am also disgusted with the hypocritical and absurd eulogies of North America by some South Americans who believe that, in these times, it is still possible to write on this subject exclusively on the basis of courtesy, as one might praise his host's fine dinner, even though it were to induce an attack of indigestion. In short, I am so fed up with everything connected with the Good Neighbor Policy that I am almost sick of this very article as I write it.

Consequently, let me make it clear that I am not going to discuss the same old political and commercial questions which have created resentment in South America toward our northern "big brother"—who has, in the past, often conducted himself as big brothers generally do. In a world where nations are separated and joined with a facility heretofore possible only in Reno it is perfectly useless to look back, like a dog with a can tied to his tail, to acts which have now lost their meaning.

What is really important and permanent, not subject to political changes or the whim of circumstance, is the instincts and temperament of the mass of our peoples. That is the only solid, material thing upon which to build.

Hundreds of North American politicians, intellectuals, and business and professional men have suddenly become preoccupied with the Good Neighbor Policy, pressing on us a new love for which we are not prepared. In the future, the times through which we are now living will certainly be known as "The Period in Which Men Were Not Prepared for Anything."

There have never existed, perhaps, in the entire history of the world, greater material and intellectual resources than we now possess. Never have politicians been better

informed, laboratories better equipped, or conditions more competently studied by statisticians and scientists. Nevertheless, the world has never known more surprises or been less well fitted to cope with unexpected problems. The great virtue of the United States has been precisely its ability to get out of trouble quickly, to improvise an admirable defense against a surprise attack. However, we all must agree that it is easier to repulse aggression than to make friends. Self-protection is a simple matter of will power, muscle, and steel; whereas friendship involves the subtleties of spiritual adaptation.

Nothing would be gained by saying that North America is an illegitimate child of England, and South America of Spain. Such assertions are no longer true. But the fact remains that, in spite of our mixed racial strains, the North American is English in many respects of which he himself is not aware, and the South American is Spanish in all things in which he prefers not to be. Probably the corruption we have both suffered in the New World has done more than anything else to bring us together; it is the chief experience we hold in common. Our good qualities separate us; our defects make us brothers.

I think I know the character of North Americans well enough to say that it is only natural and logical that we Latins should make a profoundly unfavorable impression on them. When I find myself with a North American who genuinely likes us I am ready to psychoanalyze him as an abnormal character. He is an artist or he is an amorist; he has exceptionally bad taste or exceptionally good taste; he is an apostle or a pervert. Of course, he may not belong in any of these categories; in that case, we are probably faced with an erudite fool.

All North Americans are aware that South America has color and passion, that it is primitive and overflowing with natural beauty. Thus the artist should be in his milieu. Further, South America has a warm and temperate climate; love should flourish there better than in Greenland. Thus the amorist is in his element. South America also has beggars and plenty of unwashed people with skin diseases and blemished faces. It often cultivates an artificial, elaborate, and tremendously vulgar art and literature. Thus it is a paradise for the American with

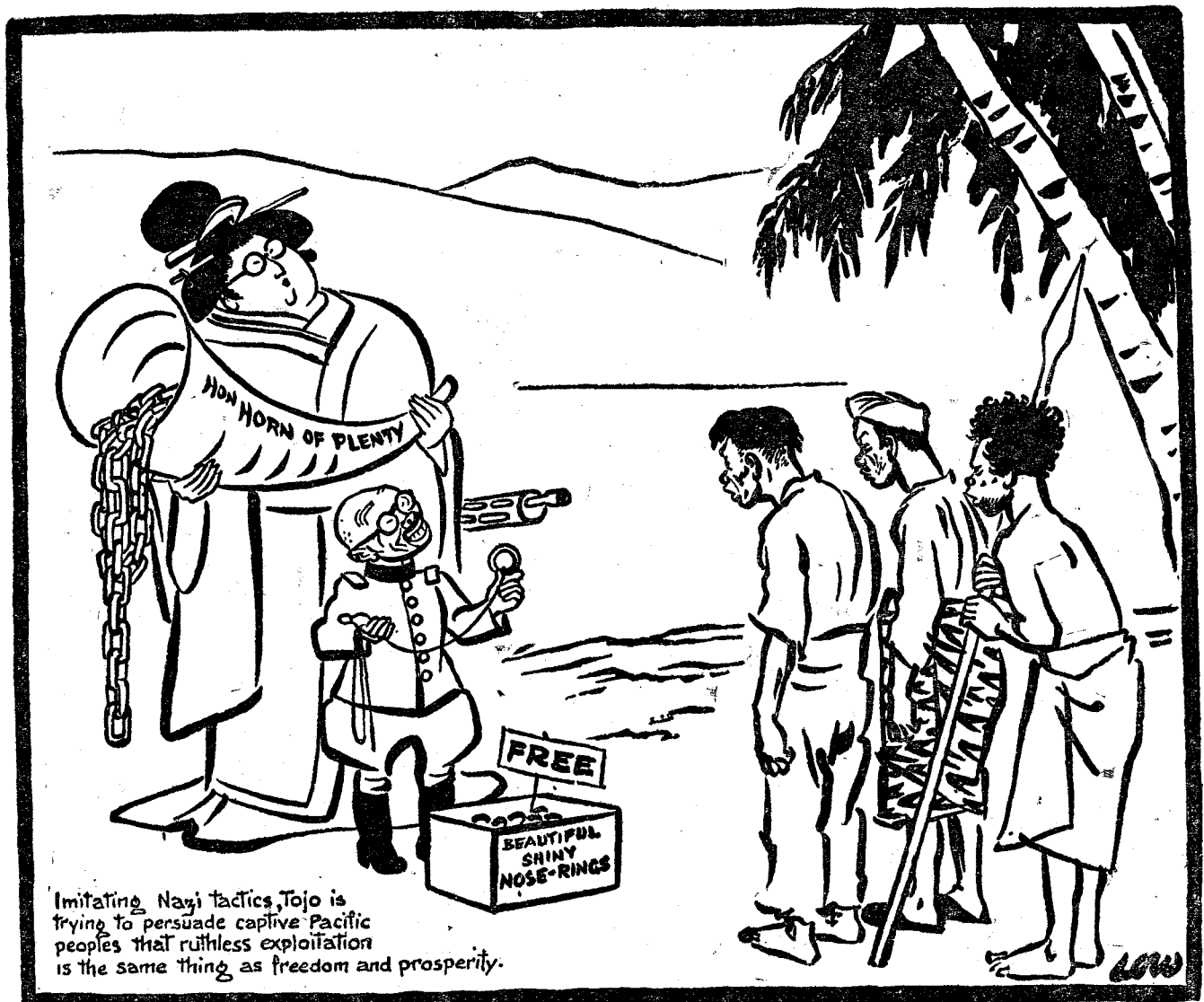
very bad taste. But South America also has a marvelous indigenous art, and Spain and Portugal bequeathed it the best of their architecture; its literary and artistic leaders have won international recognition. It contains people with sculptured bodies and sensual mouths such as may be found on no other continent; its aristocracy is as fine and cultivated as any in the old societies of Europe. Thus the North American with very good taste cannot help but love our part of America.

Unfortunately, South America also has many wretched people. Most of them lie without shame. There is little sense of gratitude or honesty—treachery flourishes everywhere like a poisonous nocturnal flower. Those among us who fall into vice fall extremely low; and those who free themselves from it always climb too high and repel the rest by their virtue. In South America the people work little and drink much. We are cruelly exploited by one another and almost never respect human personality, with the result that each, in his private life, feels himself tyrannized by the others. Therefore, our

continent is ideal for the apostle who would like to save a few souls and also for the pervert in search of filth to wallow in.

The average, normal North American should be and is allergic to us, as he finds out from any prolonged contact. Why? For a very simple reason that no one has yet ventured to mention: because we South Americans haven't had the slightest experience of democracy and lack the moral values which it engenders in a nation. The North American, on the other hand, is a prime example of democracy in spirit and behavior.

However, do not be deceived by what I say; do not believe that we Latins accept tyranny and love submission, or that we sympathize with régimes based on force. No, in some ways we are a thousand times freer than you, but we have a kind of freedom that creates disorder and injustice. And we love this awful liberty so much that a workman or a tramp in my particular country (in spite of what some romantic Communists say) would



"NON COLLABORATION, YES?"

much rather forego the comfortable home, high salary, and numerous community diversions enjoyed in your country than accept the discipline which those things entail. In the long run the average South American would willingly do without all the advantages of North American life, provided he could go on staring at his neighbors, making fun of people, lying freely, spending his week's salary in a single night in order to feel like a prince, scattering trash all over the place, and scribbling on the first wall he comes to. In short, he would never consent to give up his personal liberty, even though it was retained at the cost of collective advantage.

This sordid but magnificent South American individualism, although it fosters the artist, makes it very difficult for governments to rule their people, for teachers to educate their students, and for the inhabitants of the North and South to understand and respect each other. You North Americans have achieved as much comradeship as is compatible with capitalism. And most (not all) of you are content. You have succeeded in cutting down injustice and suffering; you have created a kind of material and spiritual happiness which is within the reach of the majority. But from our standpoint you have renounced that basis of animal enjoyment and freedom which primitive man possessed and which we do not wish to give up at any price. You do not regret such renunciations because you were born into a world of self-controlled people. Yet, when we live among you, it appears to us that life has lost all savor and that each dawn lacks the hope and stimulation which we need to live through the day. We are like the Polynesian whom the missionary has forced to wear a shirt.

It is true that we South Americans spend our time complaining about our life, but we are much more discontented when we find ourselves obliged to live a different one. Your formula of life is logical and human enough, if one identifies "human" with "civilized." And we are on the road to ruin, judged by the standards of Western Christian civilization. Nevertheless, we are closer to the natural life in which both good and bad instincts are tolerated in eternal interplay and strife. Ours is the formula of life *par excellence*, every organism aspiring to a biological felicity, an artistic felicity, and, finally, a moral and rational felicity.

At present, the world is bankrupt of moral values. This is something that invites meditation. On the other hand, it does not invite an enthusiastic change from the simple life (with all the effort that complexity demands) when the result is not clear and the success of so much effort is uncertain. Especially is this true in a generous and sparsely populated continent like ours, which will permit us to enjoy, for many centuries to come, a more varied and freer life—the luxury of those who need not submit to the complications of wealth or the terrible problems, spiritual and physical, produced by overcrowding.

In the Wind

THE OPA, says the *Washington Review* of the United States Chamber of Commerce, "has found it expedient to send a personnel specialist to Chamber headquarters to discuss the names of business men who could assist Chester Bowles, OPA general manager, put the agency on a business-like basis. . . . The Chamber staff gladly cooperated."

MANY NEGRO WOMEN placing want ads in suburban New York newspapers now specify that they will work only in Christian homes.

THE CASA ITALIANA at Columbia University, now known informally as the Red Cross Building, still bears this inscription above its entrance: "Italy, Mother of Arts—Once Our Guardian and Still Our Guide."

A NEW YORK bookstore offers Frederick Palmer's "This Man Landon" for ten cents.

"THE FORCED RESIGNATION of Sumner Welles in his contest with the fascist elements of the State Department aroused wider comment." The *Daily Worker*? No. The Merchant's Point of View, a column in the business section of the *New York Times*.

WHEN Lucius Cliett, a Negro jeweler of Albany, Georgia, bought \$3,000 worth of war bonds, the *Albany Herald* quoted him as saying, "I am buying shares of freedom," and the *Atlanta Journal* editorialized thus: "It would be difficult to persuade Lucius Cliett that he is underprivileged or downtrodden by a ruthless majority. His ability and industry and thrift have met with abounding success in a small city in the Deep South, where—the radicals and the busybodies at the North will tell you—the Negro has no chance."

A HANDBILL advertising the *Cure*, official organ of the American Army for the Abolition of Poverty, says it is "first in all history to advocate the abolition of Interest, Taxes, Unemployment, Poverty, and Crime for monetary gain, by sure and peaceful methods without disturbing private ownership. A sure cure for Fascism, Nazism, Socialism, and Communism."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Sudeten Germans are complaining that all the best political jobs go to Germans imported from the *Alt Reich*. The former Sudeten leaders are forgotten. . . . A Belgian shot a Nazi policeman from a moving street car. The car was stopped and searched, but no revolver was found and nobody had seen the shooting. . . . Anton Mussert, Holland's Quisling, has had to give his two personal riding horses to local Nazis. He appealed to General Friedrich Christiansen, German military commander of Holland, but his appeal was turned down.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Who Are the Guilty?

BY MARCELLO MAESTRO

DURING the bitter years of hunger and poverty that gave birth to fascism in Europe, many men all over the world were eager to foster and promote it. American bankers gave it financial support; industrialists in England, France, and America clamored to do business with Hitler and Mussolini. There were statesmen and diplomats who had only praise for the energy with which totalitarianism had "introduced order" in Europe. Eminent journalists extolled Mussolini as one of the most admirable political figures of the twentieth century, and laughed off Hitler as an impotent psychotic.

They did not dwell too sadly upon the sufferings of the Italian masses, nor did they plead the case of the Ethiopian people. They did not condemn the invasion of Spain by Italian and German armed forces, and they greeted with silence the monstrous crimes perpetrated by fascism against democrats and Jews.

These people are as responsible for the horrors of the past years as the fascists they espoused. But they will not be punished. Now, ironically, they are vociferous in demanding punishment for the "war criminals." Now they seek "vengeance" against the enemy nations whose leaders they succored.

Obviously, these enemy nations—Germany, Italy, and Japan—contain many individuals who countenanced the criminal behavior of their leaders. But they contain others who did not. How, then, are we to establish peace without injustice? How bring the guilty to trial without inflicting undeserved punishment upon the innocent? Newspapers and magazines carry many letters and articles telling us that the defeated nations must be punished *as nations*. But nations are not homogeneous units. Must everyone be punished, even those who have languished in prisons and concentration camps for years because they opposed Mussolini or Hitler?

Italy was a full-fledged, active democracy before the outbreak of the First World War. The democratic spirit of its people was genuine and deep-rooted, and tolerated no racial prejudice or discrimination. Everybody enjoyed fundamental freedoms, and social reform, cooperative enterprise, and trade-unionism were integrated with political life.

After the First World War the demand for further economic and social reforms brought a strong reaction from the privileged classes. The Fascist movement came into being, supported by big business but clearly opposed

by the great majority of the people. In the 1921 elections Mussolini could not collect even 5 per cent of the votes for his party. He had, however, money and weapons. And for two years, from 1920 to 1922, he terrorized the country in an attempt to crush popular resistance. Four thousand Italians were killed, hundreds of buildings were destroyed.

In October, 1922, Mussolini became premier as a result of a military coup d'état and with the connivance of the King. The fight went on. In 1924, after the Matteotti murder, Mussolini's régime—still not a full dictatorship—was on the verge of collapse. The British Foreign Minister, Sir Austen Chamberlain, arrived in Rome on a friendly visit, which gave Mussolini enough prestige to stave off disaster. But one year later the financial situation of the dictatorship had become desperate. In December, 1925, a consortium of American bankers headed by the house of Morgan floated a loan on behalf of the Italian government. The \$100,000,000 loan, at 8 per cent, enabled Mussolini to stabilize the lira and to remain in power.

By the end of 1926 Mussolini had taken full dictatorial power—crushed the opposition, filled the prisons, established concentration camps, and gagged the press. All this was hailed by American, British, and French statesmen and business men as a great accomplishment, and only indifference was accorded Italian anti-Fascists. Pius XI praised Mussolini as the "man sent by Providence." The Fascist aggression against Ethiopia was openly favored by the French government, while the British Tories did their best to prevent any measure which would seriously hamper the campaign. Mussolini's intervention in the Spanish civil war would have been impossible had not the British Foreign Office connived with Franco, Mussolini, and Hitler. No wonder that Mussolini appeared stronger and stronger in the eyes of the Italian people.

It is clear that fascism, from the start, was an international issue, Italy only the battleground. Reactionaries in all countries did their best to intrench the most despicable elements of the Italian people. In its turn, fascism did its best—through propaganda, violence, and blackmail—to eliminate everything decent in Italy and to transform all Italians into criminal fanatics. If such a result was not attained, it is to the credit of the Italian people. I do not know if, after so many years of fascism, any people could have been expected to show greater

independence of spirit and thought than the Italian people have exhibited lately in Milan, Genoa, and Turin.

Mussolini entered the Second World War on the side of Germany, but *from the start* the Italian people showed their unwillingness to fight. Had fascism won over the mass of the Italian people to its so-called ideals, the Italian armies might have had a decisive influence upon the course of the war. But Mussolini knew how the Italians felt. He never dared call to the colors more than a fraction of Italy's total man-power. The war was opposed by all methods: soldiers surrendered on the field; at home people clearly showed their reluctance to cooperate with the government; sabotage and strikes spread. Thousands of people were "purged" and interned.

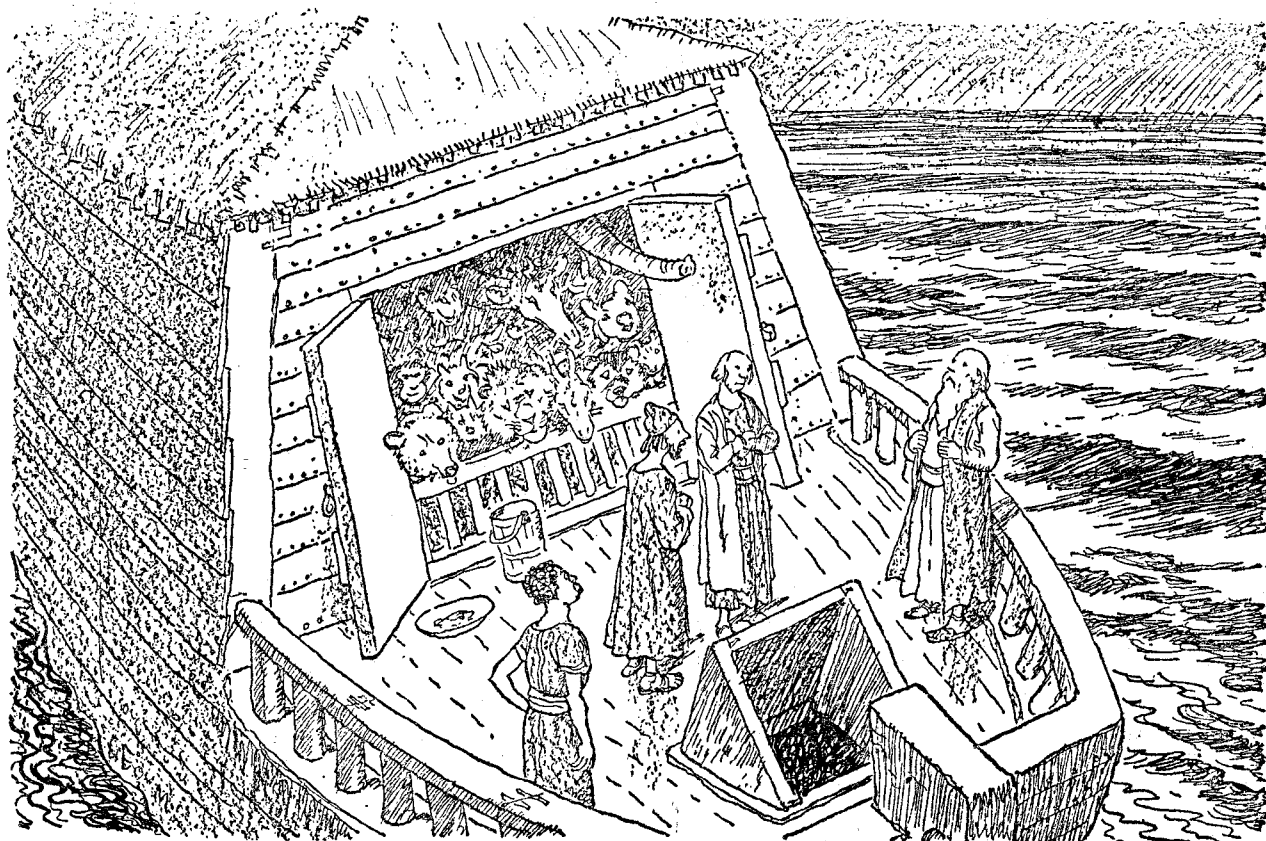
When the armies of the United Nations began to gain on the battlefield, the movement took a decidedly defeatist turn. Speeches and statements during the last year are evidence that the Fascist régime was less and less able to cope with an increasingly difficult situation. Finally, Mussolini had to give up. And, significantly enough, Badoglio, in order to keep the Italians in the war, was forced to dissolve the Fascist Party, to abrogate all racial and Fascist laws, to set free many political prisoners, and to promise free elections four months after the termination of the war.

On the day of Mussolini's fall, the people of Italy gave expression to their joy. Once more, however, the

democratic impulse of the Italian people was discouraged by the great powers, and an attempt was made by the British and American governments to deal with the King and Badoglio—to avoid "chaos and anarchy," it was said.

Any genuine anti-Fascist must feel closer in spirit to those millions of Italians who never accepted fascism than to the "neo-anti-Fascists" of today—those statesmen, clergymen, bankers, and journalists who for a decade and a half had only praise for the great accomplishments of the Duce and contempt for the "disorderly" Italian nation of the pre-Mussolini era. Any genuine Italian anti-Fascist will approve the most severe punishment of the Fascist hierarchy and of leading Fascists abroad. He will reject collaboration with the minor Fascist authorities with whom the Allied Military Government is so eager to deal in Sicily.

But to punish the millions of Italians who were the victims not only of Mussolini but of the "pro-Mussolini" vogue in the Allied countries would constitute an absolute denial of justice. To be sure, Italy must be disarmed, and the United Nations are entitled to maintain military control over Italian territory until disarmament becomes an accomplished fact. No sensible Italian will resent this measure provided military control over Italy is limited to the strictly necessary period and the United Nations do not establish an unjust rule of their own.



Reprinted from *Punch*, London

"And this evening there'll be a meeting of the Post-Diluvian Planning Committee on the after-deck."

There is no danger of a recurrence of fascism in Italy if the Italians are left to themselves. A democratic republic would probably be the choice of the majority. Should, however, the American and British governments try to prevent the Italian people from finding their own way, should they try to set up a reactionary régime, we may see an exasperated Italian people turning to communism as their only alternative.

The story of the war criminals did not begin in 1939 or 1940. It began in the twenties, and some of its protagonists were men who now boast of their democracy as if by so doing they could wipe off the record the support they once gave to fascism. It will be impossible to administer justice to all of them. But it should be in the power of the peoples of the United Nations to see that punishment is meted out to the Fascist leaders, and not to the helpless masses that have suffered under them.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THINGS are never what they seem. When Maisky and Litvinov went home and unfriendly words passed between Russia and its allies, it was to be expected that the German propaganda machine would make the most of the friction. "Disunity among the Allies" has always been one of its favorite themes—but now it has turned about-face! The German people are being told that the apparent disunity is only a trick to deceive them. As the Berlin *Börsenzeitung* put it on August 10:

The alleged tension between the plutocracies and their Bolshevik ally looks suspicious to us; particularly suspicious is the apparent candor of their discussions about it. The motive of the whole thing is to make the European nations believe that the plutocrats, in the event of their victory over Germany, will check Bolshevism.

No, says the paper, they will not check Bolshevism.

This new twist of German propaganda, already briefly noted here, is made more emphatic every day. Goebbels apparently believes he has now discovered his best "line." In this country we should understand the reason for the new tune. It is well known that the German public is alarmed by nothing so much as by the possibility that Germany will be occupied by Russians or Bolsheviks, the two words being interchangeable. The Germans have a traditional horror of being Russianized, since for centuries they have considered the Russians an inferior race; and now they have in addition a horror of being Bolshevized. This is the source of what a Swedish newspaper calls an increasingly evident "wave of Anglophilia." England, and to a lesser extent the United States, are regarded as saviors from Bolshevism. The burden of Goebbels's new line, endlessly reiterated, is that any

hope of salvation from these nations is illusory, since the Russianization or Bolshevization of Germany has already been agreed upon by London, Washington, and Moscow.

There is general agreement among observers in Germany on the phenomenon of "universal Russophobia," paralleling the universal Anglophilia. The Swiss *Appenzeller Zeitung*, for example, said on August 3:

It is revealing how uniform the general attitude toward Bolshevism is. Propaganda and descriptions by returning soldiers have endowed Bolshevism with terrifically distorted features. . . . The opinion is frequently expressed that it would be preferable to kill one's whole family rather than deliver it to the Bolsheviks.

And the Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm *Tidningen* wrote on August 7:

The army youth brought up in the spirit of Hitlerism, and very large sections of the population, particularly the middle class, live in constant fear of Bolshevism. It might even be said that this fear is clearly expressed by the unwillingness of many Berliners to evacuate the city eastward.

This aversion, this fear, is by far the strongest weapon of the Nazis in their fight against defeatism. There is hardly any need for them to propagandize against Russia; they now propagandize against the hope that the western enemy will protect them from the eastern. They are concentrating their fire against this hope.

The News Mirror, the most popular German radio program of national scope, presented on August 19 a report of a conversation with a fictitious person who was described as naive and a fool:

He closed his eyes to the Bolshevik threat and assured me that England and the United States would never permit a Bolshevik conquest of Germany. I could not help asking him how England and the United States could prevent such a development even if they wanted to. . . . But once again it has been proved that England and the United States have no objection to handing Germany and Europe over to the Bolsheviks. Their reasons are clear: they are not in a position to prevent it, and they do not want to prevent it.

And Gauleiter Wagner told a meeting at Freiburg on August 15:

It is completely wrong to assume that, if Germany and its allies were defeated, the democracies would be the victors. If Germany is defeated, the victors will be the Bolsheviks, not the democracies. Only the dumbest fools can fail to realize this.

All these quotations give an idea of the point of view the Nazis are trying to sell the Germans now. Obviously, they are preparing their people, in the event of defeat, to surrender to the English and Americans, but not to the Russians.

BOOKS and the ARTS

THE JEWISH WIFE

BY BERTOLT BRECHT

English version by ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

THE scene is laid in Germany soon after Hitler came to power. It is evening. A woman is packing a bag. She is picking out the things she wants to take with her. Sometimes she takes an article out of the bag again and puts it back in its place so that she can pack something else. She hesitates a long time over a large picture of her husband which is on the dressing-table. In the end she leaves it where it is. Getting tired of packing, she sits for a few moments on a suitcase, her head propped on her hand. Then she goes to the telephone.

THE WIFE. Judith Keith speaking. Is that you, doctor, how are you? I just wanted to call up and say that you must look around for a new bridge partner. Yes, I'm going away. No, not for very long, but it won't be less than a couple of weeks. I'm thinking of going to Amsterdam. Yes, the spring should be lovely there. No, friends, in the plural, unbelievable as it sounds. How can you play bridge now? But we haven't played for two weeks. Certainly, Fritz had a cold too. When it gets so cold bridge is impossible, I said so too. Oh no, doctor, how could I? Thekla had to accommodate her mother. I know. How should I suppose that? No, it really didn't come suddenly at all, it's just that I kept putting it off, but now I must. Yes, we'll have to call off our movie date. Say hello to Thekla for me. Perhaps you'll call him sometime Sunday? So long then. Well, gladly, of course. Goodby.

(She hangs up and calls another number.)

Judith Keith speaking. I'd like to speak to Frau Shoeck. Lotte? I wanted to say a quick goodby, I'm going away for a time. No, I'm quite well, I just want to see a couple of new faces. Yes, what I wanted to say was that Fritz is bringing the professor here for the evening next Tuesday, and perhaps you could come too. As I said I'm leaving tonight. Yes, Tuesday. No, I only wanted to say I'm going away tonight, that has nothing to do with it, I thought you would come then too. All right, let's say: *although* I'm not there, O. K.? Of course I know you're not like that, and even if you were these are troubled times, and everybody's careful now. You'll come then? If Max can? Oh, he will be able to, the professor'll be here, tell him. I must hang up now. Fine. Goodby.

(She hangs up and calls another number.)

Is that you, Gertrud? This is Judith. Sorry to disturb you. Thanks. I wanted to ask you if you can look after Fritz, I'm going away for a couple of months. I think that you as his sister— Why wouldn't you like to? But there's no likelihood of that, not in Fritz's case. Naturally he knows that—er—you and I didn't get on too well together, but— Then *he'll* call you, if you wish it. Yes, I'll tell him. It's all pretty much in order,

though the apartment's a bit too big. His study? Oh, Ida knows how to look after it, just leave that to her. I find her quite intelligent, and he's used to her. And another thing, please don't misunderstand me, he doesn't like to talk before dinner, could you remember that? I've always avoided it. I don't want to discuss it now, my train leaves soon and I've not finished packing, you see. Look after his suits and remind him he has to go to the tailor—he's ordered a coat—and take care that his bedroom's well heated, he always sleeps with an open window and it's too cold. I don't believe he should "become inured" to it, but now I must stop. Thank you so much, Gertrud, and we'll write to each other. Goodby.

(She hangs up and calls another number.)

Anna? This is Judith. Look, I'm leaving right away. No, it has to be, it'll be harder later on. Too hard? Yes, no, Fritz doesn't want it, he knows nothing, I have simply packed. I don't think so. I don't think he'll say much. It's simply too hard for him, I mean outside. We've agreed on nothing. We never even spoke about it, never. No, he was not different, on the contrary—I want you to be good to him a little at the first. Yes, especially Sunday, and advise him to move. The apartment is too big for him. I'd like to say goodby to you, but you know— The janitor? Goodby then, no don't come to the station, by no means. Goodby, I'll write. Surely.

(She hangs up and calls no more numbers. She has been smoking. She now burns the little book in which she looked up the telephone numbers. She walks up and down a couple of times. Then she begins to speak. She is trying out the little lecture which she wishes to give to her husband. One sees that he is in a certain chair.)

Yes, I'm going now, Fritz. Perhaps I've stayed too long already, you must forgive that, but—

(She stands thinking and begins again.)

Fritz, you shouldn't keep me here any longer, you can't do it. It's obvious that I'll be your undoing. I know you're not cowardly, you're not afraid of the police—but there are worse things than the police. They won't take you to the concentration camp but—tomorrow or the next day—they won't let you into the clinic. You won't say anything then, but you'll be sick. I won't see you sitting around here turning the pages of the newspaper. I'm going out of pure egoism and nothing else. Don't say anything.

(She stops again. She starts again.)

Don't say you're not changed. You are! Last week you found—quite objectively—that the percentage of Jewish scientists is after all not so great. It always begins with objectivity. And why do you continually say to me now that I never was such a Jewish nationalist as now. Naturally I am! It's so catching! Oh Fritz, what has happened to us?

(She stops again. She starts again.)

I didn't tell you I wanted to go and have wanted to go a long time because I can't talk when I look at you, Fritz. What is wrong with them? What do they actually want? What do I do to them? I've never meddled in politics. Was I

for Thaelmann? No. I'm just a bourgeois, a housewife who keeps servants and so forth, and now suddenly only blonds can carry on that way. I've often thought lately how you said to me some years ago: "There are valuable people and less valuable people. The valuable people get insulin when they have sugar in the blood, the less valuable get none." I agreed with you, little fool that I was! Now they've made a new dictionary, and I belong to the less valuable. It's right that it should happen to me.

(She stops again. She begins again.)

Yes, I'm packing. You mustn't act as if you hadn't noticed it in the last few days. Fritz, everything is tolerable except one thing: that we're not looking each other in the eyes during the last hours that remain to us. That they shall not achieve—the liars who set everyone lying. Ten years ago when someone maintained that no one could tell I was Jewish you quickly said: "Oh, yes, they can tell." And I liked that. It was clear-headed. Why evade the issue now? I'm packing because otherwise they'll take away your position at the clinic. And because they already cut you there to your face and because already you can't sleep at night. I don't want you to tell me not to go. I'm going in a hurry because I don't want to have you tell me I should go. It's a question of time. Character is a question of time. It lasts for a certain length of time, just like a glove. There are good ones that last a long time. But they don't last forever. Of course I'm not angry. And yet: I am. Why should I always be so understanding? What's wrong with the shape of my nose and the color of my hair? I should quit the town where I was born lest they should need to give me butter? What kind of men are you all? What kind of a man are you? You people discover the quantum theory and let yourselves be led by half-savages; you may conquer the world and not be able to have the wife you want. Artificial respiration and every shot a hit! You're monsters or the bootlickers of monsters. Yes, this is unreasonable of me, but what use is reason in such a world? There you sit watching your wife pack and say nothing. The walls have ears, don't they? And you say nothing! One lot listens and the other lot doesn't speak. Christ! I too should refuse to speak. If I loved you, I'd not speak. I love you really. Give me that underwear. Those have sex appeal, I'll need them. I'm thirty-six, that's not so old, but I can't do much more experimenting. It mustn't be this way in the next country I come to. The next man I get must be allowed to keep me. And don't say you'll send money, you know you can't. And you shouldn't act as if it were for four weeks. This business doesn't last a mere four weeks. You know it and I know it too. So don't say, "Well, it's only for two weeks or so," as you give me the fur coat which I'll not need till winter. And don't talk to me about misfortune. Talk about shame. Oh, Fritz!

(She stops. A door is heard. She hastily puts herself to rights. Her husband comes in.)

HUSBAND. What are you doing, tidying up?

WIFE. No.

HUSBAND. Why are you packing?

WIFE. I want to go.

HUSBAND. What do you mean?

WIFE. We've talked sometimes about my going away for a time. Things are not too good here these days.

HUSBAND. That's a lot of nonsense.

WIFE. Shall I stay then?

HUSBAND. Where do you intend to go?

WIFE. To Amsterdam. Away from here.

HUSBAND. But you have no one there.

WIFE. No.

HUSBAND. Why don't you stay here then? You certainly mustn't go on my account.

WIFE. No.

HUSBAND. You know I've not changed, don't you, Judith?

WIFE. Yes.

(He embraces her. They stand, silent, between the bags.)

HUSBAND. And there's nothing else to make you go?

WIFE. You know the answer to that.

HUSBAND. Perhaps it isn't so stupid. You need a breather. I'll bring you back. Two days on the other side of the frontier, and I'll feel much better.

WIFE. Yes, by all means.

HUSBAND. This business here can't last too long. A complete change will come—from somewhere. All this will calm down again like an inflammation. It's really too bad.

WIFE. It certainly is. Did you meet Shoeck?

HUSBAND. Yes, that is, only on the stairs. I believe he's sorry again that they cut us. He was quite embarrassed. In the long run they can't hold us intellectual beasts of burden down like this. Nor can they make war with completely spineless wrecks. These people are not so unresponsive if one confronts them boldly. When do you want to go?

WIFE. Quarter past nine.

HUSBAND. And where shall I send the money?

WIFE. General delivery, Amsterdam, perhaps.

HUSBAND. I'll get myself a special permit. My God, I can't send my wife away with ten marks a month! What a mess everything is in. I feel awful about it.

WIFE. When you come for me, it'll do you good.

HUSBAND. To read a paper for once that has something in it!

WIFE. I called up Gertrud. She'll look after you.

HUSBAND. Quite unnecessary—for a mere two weeks.

WIFE. *(Who has begun to pack.)* Hand me the fur coat now, will you?

HUSBAND *(Gives it to her.)* After all, it's only for two weeks or so.

Blind Anger

BETWEEN TEARS AND LAUGHTER. By Lin Yutang.
The John Day Company. \$2.50.

WE HAVE learned to respect and appreciate Lin Yutang as a kind of Wise Man from the East. Beginning with "My Country and My People," in which he interpreted Chinese culture for the West, he expounded a philosophy which in our Western tradition would be called Epicurean but which he defined as a combination of Confucian and Taoist viewpoints. He gloried in the earth-bound and sober common sense of Confucianism and poured his scorn upon the heaven-storming fanaticisms of the West.

Perhaps he intended the same spirit to permeate his new book, for we are told that the Chinese title, literally trans-

lated, means "weeping, laughter, both wrong." But the tragedies of the war have long since drawn him out of his partly Epicurean and partly Stoic equanimity. There is little in this volume of the "law of measure" which the title betokens. The fact is that Mr. Lin is very, very angry. Anger may, on occasion, distil more wisdom than serenity does; the author's anger is therefore no explanation of the fact that this book will add nothing to his reputation or stature. It is strident in tone, sometimes cheap in expression, full of contradictory opinions, and lacking in both nobility of spirit and significant illumination of the problems under discussion.

The cause of the author's wrath is fairly clear, though not at all clearly defined. The cause is the white man's pride. It is not clearly defined because Mr. Lin alternately accuses the Western world of arrogance, of power politics, of "materialism," and of undue reliance upon science. Since the arrogance of Western man is undoubtedly one of the chief hazards to the creation of a world community in which the Asiatic peoples can find their rightful and due place, one may well regret that the author's anger has not found a more effective vehicle, and that he allows absurdities and contradictions to destroy the force of his accusation.

When indicting the West Mr. Lin is never quite certain whether he wants to include the whole West or whether he is aiming primarily at Britain, while claiming America as an ally. Mr. Churchill is his chief whipping boy. The Prime Minister's intransigence on the issue of the freedom of India makes him a natural and proper object of attack. Sir Norman Angell falls under his condemnation less plausibly; and he never adequately or justly defines Sir Norman's approach to world problems. Though he seems at times to regard America as essentially free of the prejudices which arouse his scorn, he speaks at other times as if the late Professor Spykman's "American Strategy in World Politics" were the definitive approach of our country to world problems.

Spykman offers a good foil for the author's charge that the West plays power politics. "I remember," he declares, "during World War I the term 'power politics' used to be written *Machtpolitik* and had a German flavor; now it is not necessary, Germany has conquered from within." Against the Western realization that all politics is power politics, in the sense that political life is never a purely rational accommodation of interest to interest but a dynamic harmony of vital forces, Mr. Lin presents Confucian moralism as the answer to the problem of a global community. I seem to remember that in his "My Country and My People" he admitted that all the Confucian words of advice to the powerful did not insure justice. The simple moralism in this book throws no light on how the world is really to be organized justly.

Furthermore, when it suits his purposes, he easily discards the picture of the pure morality of the East in contrast to the cynical devotion to power politics of the West, and threatens us with force in the following terms:

The only logical way to keep Asia down permanently would be to keep the knowledge of the use of rifles and guns from the Asiatics, as we are trying to keep the American bombsight from the enemy. Stretch it across the decades and you know it cannot be done. For a century the discrepancy in arms alone maintained the white empires in Asia. What the Second World War suddenly revealed

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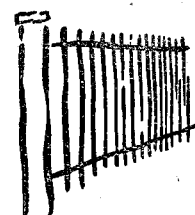
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Also Coming:

Stuart Chase on the American economy as it will look on Demobilization Day. What can be done to prevent collapse when the soldiers come home and the war industries shut up shop?



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is that now the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians have guns. This fact is going to change world history.

I think that the observation is true and the implied threat justified. But it stands in strange contradiction to the monotonous indictment of "power politics" in the rest of the volume. The real fact is that the author has never meditated very profoundly on the relation between power and justice and how to make the former a servant of the latter.

One of his charges against the West is that it trusts science too much. It is not quite clear whether his case against science is that it makes value judgments on the basis of inadequate criteria, or that it fails to make such judgments, or that it is incapable of measuring the "imponderables" of human life. A very plausible indictment against Western confidence in science can be written; but it would have to be made with more discrimination than the author reveals.

Among many other vagaries in this disjointed diatribe against the West is the idea that experts are interested only in facts, while the common people have a sure hold on "principles." This charge becomes particularly implausible when applied to foreign policy. Most of the national policies against which he inveighs were forced upon statesmen by the reluctance of ordinary citizens to assume responsibilities for political order and justice beyond their own nation and by the inability of the common man to foresee coming events.

We shall just have to write off this book and hope that the author will regain his poise in the future. If he is going to write about politics, he might well study a little political science, however hateful scientific discipline may seem to him.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Sweden's Dilemma

STALWART SWEDEN. By Joachim Joesten. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

THE Sweden Joachim Joesten first went to "was a happy, care-free land," he says. That was in 1934, long before the days of war, which have shown Sweden that the neutral's lot is not a happy one. Neutrals are disturbed from without and within. The belligerents prod them. They suffer psychological mutations because they pretend to stand upon the moon while they try to live in the world. Neutrality nurtures a sort of introversion accompanied by anxious self-questioning. Is neutrality honorable? Is neutrality wise?

Now Mr. Joesten adds to the store of unhappiness for neutral Sweden by setting out to show that throughout the war the country has been an unneutral thorn in the Allies' side. "Up to the end of last year," Mr. Joesten writes in his little book, "I was convinced that Sweden, if forced into the war, would side up with Germany."

His conclusion had an especial interest for me because not long ago I was in Sweden trying to assay its point of view. My opinion on leaving was that the Swedes fundamentally were pro-Allied but had been disillusioned and made timid by international political events. In the years between wars they had sought a system of cooperation among all powers great and small, in the form of the League. Ethiopia, Spain, and Munich discouraged them, and today they make inward reservations when faced with arguments about the

moral earnestness of what they call the "Great Powers."

I thought Mr. Joesten's book might convince me I was wrong about the Swedes and that I would discover they really are pro-German. The evidence he gets into his book does not make a case. He devotes a long chapter to Axel L. Wenner-Gren as a friend of Germany, but Wenner-Gren has been out of Sweden since the war's beginning and he is disliked among his fellow Swedes. He does not influence Sweden's war-time policies from his safe retreat in Mexico.

Mr. Joesten stresses the censors and newspaper publishers who appear to help Germany, but the press in the main is pro-Allied. The newspaper with the largest circulation, the *Stockholm Dagens Nyheter*, is anti-German. Stockholm papers carry more American news than British papers. He charges that Sweden is unfair to anti-Germans who are seeking asylum because he was put into an internment camp in 1940 when he was discovered traveling without papers under an assumed name, but Stockholm is filled with Czechs, Austrians, Poles, and Norwegians who have found refuge there.

The events leading up to Mr. Joesten's internment occupy a good many of his 205 pages. He has a grievance against Sweden, and his book might have been more telling if he had given the grievance less emphasis. He adds a good deal to the existing lore concerning German fifth-column activities. But he weakens his case again by stressing the essential current pro-Germanism of Swedes related by ancestry or marriage to Germans. Mr. Joesten himself was born a German, and he has shown that nobody can be more anti-German than a German.

BLAIR BOLLES

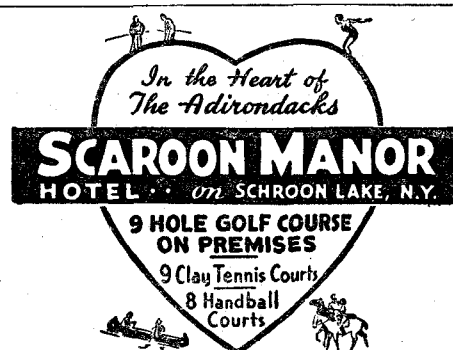
Children under Fire

WAR AND CHILDREN. By Anna Freud and Dorothy T. Burlingham. Medical War Books. \$3.50.

THOUSANDS of Americans were genuinely moved by the motion picture "Journey for Margaret." Undoubtedly many among them sensed, even in the very popular portrayal of the work of the English nursery, something of its special quality. The nursery shown was intended to depict one of three operated by the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children under the direction of two highly trained psychologists, Anna Freud, daughter of Sigmund Freud, and Dorothy Tiffany Burlingham, an American child-analyst. "War and Children" is their own presentation of their work and the theory behind it.

Convinced that emotional shocks and deprivations are quite as serious a threat to the child's normal development as dietary deficiencies or bodily dangers, these women have made unusual efforts to meet the psychic needs of their charges and to repair the damage already done.

Their trained awareness of this aspect of the war problem lends a unique value to their observations of the actual behavior of children and parents and to their deeply thoughtful commentary. One might add, parenthetically, that it is refreshing and somewhat unusual to find the parents recognized throughout as human beings whose problems and conflicts were increased by the abnormal situation, and who needed help and consideration if their children were to be benefited.



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CONCLUDING UNSCIENTIFIC POSTSCRIPT, translated by David F. Swenson and Walter Lowrie. (Published for American-Scandinavian Foundation.) \$5.00

THE SICKNESS UNTO DEATH, translated by Walter Lowrie. \$2.75

REPETITION, translated by Walter Lowrie (with a bibliographical essay, "How Kierkegaard Got into English"). \$2.75

FEAR AND TREMBLING, translated by Walter Lowrie. \$2.75

EITHER/OR, translated by David F. Swenson, Lillian M. Swenson, and Walter Lowrie. 2 vols. (Publication late fall 1943.) \$7.50

THE CONCEPT OF DREAD, translated by Walter Lowrie. (Publication spring 1944.)

THE ATTACK ON "CHRISTENDOM," translated by Walter Lowrie. (Publication spring 1944.)

A SHORT LIFE OF KIERKEGAARD, by Walter Lowrie. \$2.75
Order from your bookseller or from

THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Small children, the authors point out, are very little affected by repeated bombing experiences, provided they are in the care of their mothers or trusted mother substitutes at the time. "But it is a widely different matter when children are separated from or even lose their parents." If, on the other hand, the parents themselves are unusually agitated and upset, their fears are communicated to their children, even to very young babies incapable of understanding speech or appreciating the dangers around them. "The war acquires comparatively little significance for children," we are told, "so long as it only threatens their lives, disturbs their material comfort, or cuts their food rations. It becomes enormously significant the moment it breaks up family life and uproots the first emotional attachments of the child within the family group. London children, therefore, were on the whole much less upset by bombing than by evacuation to the country as a protection against it."

Why this was true, what measures might be taken to safeguard children's mental health when evacuation is necessary, how these particular nurseries attempted to meet the problem for the children in their care, and how they assisted in the

SWEDEN— which side of the fence is she really on?

ONE of the strangest enigmas of this war has been the picture of Sweden sitting like a Sphinx with the flames of war sweeping her on all sides. Does Sweden want a free Europe? . . . or is she an Axis partner in disguise? Now, in a candid, crisply written book, a former Swedish foreign correspondent tells Sweden's story as he has seen it—from the inside!

"Will stimulate and inform those Americans who have been inclined to take Sweden uncritically for granted."—Joseph Henry Jackson, *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Stalwart Sweden

by Joachim Joesten

At your bookseller's \$2.50 DOUBLEDAY, DORAN

A MUSEMENTS

"BREEZY NEW MUSICAL HIT"—Walter Winchell
RICHARD KOLLMAR Presents A NEW MUSICAL COMEDY

EARLY TO BED

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Evgs., 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:40.

rehabilitation of children already harmed by evacuation experiences are some of the very practical matters discussed.

The vital importance of the mother relationship is stressed again and again. The authors are convinced that every effort must be made to keep it alive. Repeated temporary upsets due to the partings following visits are found much less dangerous than the apparent calm of complete separation.

A discussion of considerable theoretic interest probes the meaning of these experiences for children at various ages and levels of psychological development. Regression or—in younger children—complete failure to repress early aggressive and instinctual drives is linked with disturbance of the mother relationship at a time when the child's struggle toward civilized standards is still dependent on love for the parent. There is also an important note on the disturbance of this civilizing process due to contact with adult aggression and destructiveness. "The real danger," we are reminded, "is not that the child, caught up all innocently in the whirlpool of the war, will be shocked into illness. The danger lies in the fact that destruction raging in the outer world may meet the very real aggressiveness which rages in the inside of the child. At the age when education should start to deal with these impulses, confirmation should not be given from the outside world that the same impulses are uppermost in other people. Children will play joyfully on bombed sites and around bomb craters . . . but it becomes impossible to educate them toward a repression of, and reaction against, destruction while they are doing so."

Space forbids any attempt to reproduce all the important insights of these authors. The book should prove fascinating reading for all who are concerned about children in war time. While eminently sound and thoughtful, it is brief and free from forbidding psychological jargon. One wishes it had been more carefully edited to eliminate repetitions and occasional grammatical errors. But these are minor flaws in an otherwise excellent piece of work.

HELEN G. STERNAU

CONTRIBUTORS

JULIUS HOCHMAN is vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and general manager of the Joint Board of the New York Dress and Waistmakers' Union.

MAXWELL S. STEWART is an associate editor of *The Nation*. A Peace Plan for Asia is adapted from his book "Building for Peace at Home and Abroad," which Harper and Brothers will publish this fall.

BENJAMIN SUBERCASEAUX is one of Chile's best-known young writers. His "Chile: A Geographic Extravaganza" was reviewed in a recent issue of *The Nation*.

MARCELLO MAESTRO is Italian news editor of the Columbia Broadcasting System. He was formerly associate editor of the anti-Fascist *Il Mondo*, published in New York.

BERTOLT BRECHT, one of Germany's leading poets and dramatists, is now living in this country. His "Ballad of the Dead Soldier" circulated by word of mouth throughout Germany in the last war and won him the lasting hatred of the Junkers. He has the honor of holding fifth place on the Nazi murder list. Only two of his books are available in English: "A Penny for the Poor" and "The Trial of Lucullus."

RECORDS

SOME people, I find, think that Mr. Petrillo is forbidding the record companies to manufacture copies (corresponding to photographic prints) of the recordings (corresponding to photographic plates or films) already in existence. Actually he is forbidding members of his union to accept employment by the companies to make new recordings. He is doing this as an act of pressure—directly on the record companies, indirectly on the broadcasting and juke-box companies—to secure an agreement that will protect the living musician against the machine—an agreement that will increase the employment of living musicians and compensate those thrown out of work who cannot be reemployed.

As far as I can judge, the pressure is not effective, and the action is hurting the employed musician without doing the unemployed the slightest good. The record companies cannot record performances of symphonic and other "classical" music; but all this means is that they are saving the expense and trouble involved in new recordings while they devote their plant, materials, and labor to manufacturing copies of already existing recordings of such music in quantities which do not even remotely come near meeting the demand; and they can go on doing this until recording is resumed in Europe and they begin to receive a fresh supply of new recordings. They cannot record performances of the latest popular songs; but again this means that they save the expense and trouble involved, and that they manufacture more records of "classical" music which sell for 75 cents and a dollar and less records of popular music which sell for 35 cents and 50 cents. The large broadcasting systems continue to broadcast the living performances of symphony orchestras and celebrated jazz bands. The small broadcasting stations which depend on records continue with the existing recordings of symphony orchestras and celebrated jazz bands—though one can foresee that their audiences may tire of the recordings of the old popular songs, and that as a result there may be pressure on the stations to come to terms with Mr. Petrillo. The same pressure may be even greater on the manufacturers of juke-boxes, which use only records of popular songs. The small broadcasting stations and juke-box companies may, then, be hurt—to what degree, and with what effect for Mr. Petrillo's purpose, I don't pretend to

know; but meanwhile the members of symphony orchestras and jazz bands are losing the money they would be earning at recording-sessions, the symphony orchestras are losing the royalties they would be receiving from the new recordings, the song-writers and the arrangers are losing their royalties, and when the juke-box companies begin to be hurt the celebrated jazz bands whose popularity is built up in large measure by the records in juke-boxes will begin to be hurt with them.

In a recent letter to the *New York Times* Sir Thomas Beecham questioned whether Mr. Petrillo's action was a good way to achieve his end, and suggested a better way. Accepting Mr. Petrillo's statement that his quarrel was not with the record companies but with the broadcasting and other companies that "live partly or mainly upon mechanized music to the disadvantage of unemployed musicians," Sir Thomas suggested that the protection of copyright be extended to records, so that these companies, which now can use them without paying anything, would have to pay a fee for each use. "A very large income would be forthcoming to the creators, artistic and mechanical, of the records. They, I am sure, would be only too willing to hand over to the [musicians' union] the larger portion of [the] fees." And the union could use the money for unemployment relief or to create employment: "Why should not the Federation . . . found orchestras of its own?"

On the same page a week later a Mr. Herbert A. Speiser pointed out that "when [the musician] makes a record he creates a substitute for his services and so dispenses with the need for his own employment"; and went on to show that the musician who made this record was not fairly compensated for his work. "If I am asked by another to grant him the use of something which I have created, I inquire into what the use is and how much money he will make. If I find he will profit \$100 I will ask a fee of, say, \$10. But if he will profit \$1,000,000, should I receive but the same \$10?" That, wrote Mr. Speiser, was the situation of the musician, who was paid a fair fee for making a record intended to be played in the home, but who was unable to collect anything out of the huge profits which the broadcasting stations and juke-box companies made out of it, because of the federal copyright law passed thirty-four years ago which protects the author, the composer, the inventor, but not the performer. Attempts to amend the law have been

defeated by "the pressures of strong economic influences, among which are the very interests which gain the fabulous profits from the use of musicians' talents on records. The public interest, if considered, was lost in the lobby. Now that the musicians have taken an aggressive and brave stand, Congress talks suddenly of the public and wastes its time on investigations of the rights of A. F. of M. and its energetic leader. If Congress has the public interest at heart, the remedy is clear and simple—give the musician the same protection of the law which every other creator has."

And a week later, on the same page, an article by Jack Gould gave Mr. Petrillo's views on the matters discussed in the preceding letters. He too believed that the copyright law should be extended to recorded performances, and that this would make possible a long-range solution of the problem; but he contended that a short-range solution was necessary meanwhile because previous attempts had demonstrated the difficulties in the way of getting the copyright law revised and the time this would take. Each such attempt had been defeated by the quarreling of the parties involved, of whom the record companies and the musicians' union were only two among a larger group. Only recently Mr. Petrillo had offered the companies a combination of long-range and short-range solutions: his cooperation in an attempt to secure revision of the copyright act, if over a period of five years the companies would make payments to the union totaling \$18,000,000; and the offer had been rejected by the representatives of the broadcasting companies, who had both negative and positive reasons for opposing both the short- and the long-range solutions—who, that is, had not been hurt financially by the Petrillo ban, who did not want to pay \$18,000,000, and who did not want a revision of the copyright law which in the long run would compel them to pay far more than \$18,000,000 in increased royalty fees.

This discussion in the *Times* has caused the problems, the issues, the possible solutions, the forces working for and against these solutions to emerge clearly defined from the previous confusion. But the comment they call for will have to wait until next week.

B. H. HAGGIN

COMING SOON IN *THE NATION*
 "What to Do with Italy." By Gaetano Salvemini and George La Piana.
 Reviewed by G. A. Borgese.

Letters to the Editors

Is This Clean Politics?

Dear Sirs: Simple honesty should be the basis of liberal and labor politics. Our quarrel with the right and with totalitarianism is, in large measure at least, ethical. If we are to work for more democracy—in politics, in economic life, in world affairs—our own democracy must be above reproach.

I am moved to these remarks by a scandalous violation of democratic procedure in an organization dedicated to social progress and clean politics. On August 30 I attended, as a duly elected county committeeman, the 1943 convention of the Kings County (Brooklyn) American Labor Party. The ostensible purpose of the meeting was to elect officers and name candidates. Actually, as every party member knew, the meeting was to be a final test of strength between the two leading factions, known generally as the right and left wings. The left wing consists of those who have followed a political line parallel to that of the Communist Party and have unfailingly urged current Communist policies upon the A. L. P. The so-called right wing, to which I adhere and on whose ticket I was elected in the primaries, is held together less by any political line than by its opposition to the left wing; we feel that left-wing control of the party would mean Communist domination pure and simple and that all hope for liberal political action in New York State would die.

That, roughly speaking, was the issue. The primaries had been so close that no one could tell which side had won. The right-wing leaders, who control the party machinery, called the convention and examined all credentials. When they determined that a quorum of accredited committeemen was present, they declared the session open.

What followed was outrageous. From the moment the first *viva voce* vote was called, it was clear that the left-wing was a large majority. Even those with a high regard for Communist lung-power could not claim that the right wing outnumbered the left. Yet John Gelo, chairman of the convention, had the audacity to award the decision to his followers. And so it went all evening. The left wing roared and the right wing squeaked, but the chairman, who had refused to permit the Honest Bal-

lot Association to send a representative, always found his side in the majority. Left-wing representatives got the floor only by taking it without permission. During the whole evening, only one of their motions was entertained—then “voted” down by Mr. Gelo’s followers. The rest of the time they could not even raise a point of order or a point of information. On the only hand-vote of the evening—on a new slate of county officers proposed by the left wing—my side was outnumbered three or four to one. At least so it seemed to me, sitting up in an advantageous seat in the balcony. So it seemed to everyone about me, of both persuasions. So it seemed to all the newspapermen and police present. Certainly the left had more than half the votes. After refusing to allow any left-wing members to act as tellers, Mr. Gelo calmly announced that the right had 1,357 votes to the left’s 1,149. The left challenged the count and demanded a roll-call vote. Mr. Gelo adjourned the meeting.

I hold no brief for the left wing. I believe that those of its members who are not Communists have been deluded by Communists. I realize if the left had controlled the meeting, the right would have received no better treatment than it dealt out. Still, the left wing was in the majority and should have won. The county leaders accepted the credentials of every delegate present and signified their willingness to decide the issue democratically. But they flouted democracy at every turn. Even if, by some miracle, it should be proved that the count of the hand vote was accurate, the county leaders would be suspect for (a) their refusal to turn the balloting over to the Honest Ballot Association or even to introduce printed ballots of their own, (b) their refusal to grant left-wing leaders their parliamentary rights, (c) their refusal to check the vote by roll call.

I propose to George S. Counts, chairman of the American Labor Party, and to Alex Rose, executive secretary, that they immediately appoint a committee to investigate the Kings County convention. Representatives of both sides and impartial outsiders should study the results and examine the conduct of John Gelo, Kings County chairman, and his subordinates. I realize that if the investigation shows what I and many others suspect it will, our side may well

lose control of the state organization of the party. That would be too bad. But it would be no worse than having the party controlled by men who can’t keep their prejudices and their arithmetic separated.

RICHARD H. ROVERE

Brooklyn, N. Y., August 31

How About It?

Dear Sirs: In his very interesting article, *England Teaches Its Soldiers*, in *The Nation* for August 21, Reinhold Niebuhr says, “I have the uneasy feeling that the failure of American educators to interest themselves in the problem of army education is responsible to a large degree for the comparative educational backwardness of the American army.”

In the fall of 1941 I was receiving letters from former students of mine at the University of Chicago who were in various army camps. They said it was disturbing to realize how many of the soldiers had no idea what nazism was and thought this was just another war. Having been granted leave of absence by the University of Chicago to take up the cudgels against isolationism, I wrote to Secretary Stimson that I was going to Washington and should like to see him. He replied that he would be in New York when I was there but that Mr. John J. McCloy would see me. When I called on this gentleman he summoned Oveta Culp Hobby, at that time the morale builder of mothers of American soldiers. They were not impressed by extracts from the letters I had received, or by my plea for the recognition of the psychological aspects of this war. Mr. McCloy finally ended the interview with, “All soldiers need to know is how to shoot.”

In the fall of 1941 I offered my services for nothing. I have raised my price now! British army discussion groups are often led by women. We have women over here, too, who have taught young men and have had a wealth of experience in leading discussion groups. I am going over to England soon for a couple of months but I can do some evening work when I get back. I have another job, but in war time I can take on a “victory shift” of extra work. How about it, Mr. McCloy? How about shooting *plus* education?

MARY B. GILSON

Boston, Mass., August 24

Fathers and the War

Dear Sirs: I have just finished reading your editorial, *Work or Fight*, and I think you have missed the chief reason for the failure of fathers in non-essential jobs to transfer to essential jobs. I refer to the resistance put up by the employers in the said non-essential jobs. When, for example, a man in a relatively well-paid position having seniority and pension rights is drafted, his firm usually promises to take him back after the war, if at all possible, at the same seniority and pension level he had when he was called. If, however, he responds to the government's blandishments, quits his job, and goes into a defense plant, not only does he do so, doubtless, at a great financial sacrifice, being untrained in mechanical work, but his firm takes the position that he quit; it therefore drops his name from its list of employees and if, after the war, he wants to get back into his own job he must begin at the bottom.

Is it, therefore, surprising that he prefers to take his chances with the draft? He figures, too, that his family would suffer almost as much in one case as in the other, what with the bad living conditions in defense areas and the relatively low wages that he, as an untrained worker, would be able to earn.

If we want the young fathers to switch jobs we'll have to put pressure on the employers, I think.

KATHRYN R. FREY
LEOPOLD FREY

Chicago, Ill., August 31

Not So Shallow

Dear Sirs: The argument of Rolfe Humphries's two-page review of the Moulton anthology in *The Nation* of August 21 is one, I think, about which there can be little disagreement. I said many of the same things in a review of the previous issue of Mr. Moulton's perennial.

However, Mr. Humphries's generalization about the "shallow ponds of the American provinces" does a serious disservice to a number of literary magazines in the United States which are provincial in no sense except that of their place of publication.

The magazine *Fantasy* (Pittsburgh), which Mr. Humphries names among those showing that the anthologist's "American impulses are much more provincial," has as much first-rate poetry in the 152 pages of its current issue—including work by Richard Eberhart, H. R. Hays, Clark Mills, Kenneth Patchen, W. T. Scott, Byron Vazakas,

Oscar Williams, etc., etc.—as there is in any American or British periodical which I have seen.

Some of the "shallow ponds of the American provinces" are fairly deep, and offer much of the best poetry which is being published today.

COLEMAN ROSENBERGER
Washington, D. C., August 23

The Postal Case

Dear Sirs: Kelly Postal, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544—C. I. O., is now serving a five-year prison term solely because of his loyalty to the principles of trade-union democracy. He has been a worker and trade-union militant for thirty years; he is also a veteran of the First World War. The Kelly Postal case is as flimsy a frame-up as were the Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti cases.

In June, 1941, a long-standing conflict concerning the question of trade-union democracy between Local 544 and Daniel J. Tobin, president of the Teamsters International, A. F. of L., came to a head. Local 544 decided, by a virtually unanimous vote, to disaffiliate from the A. F. of L. and to join the C. I. O. Postal was one of the militant leaders in this struggle. Daniel J. Tobin made his first move personally against Postal, and also other leaders of Local 544, when he made an explicit appeal to President Roosevelt for help. Postal was one of those indicted in the Minneapolis labor case of 1941. He was cleared of all charges by the jury. But the campaign against him was continued. He was indicted by the Hennepin County attorney for embezzlement. He was not accused of having misused union funds personally. He was accused on this charge because, acting as treasurer of the local, he obeyed the democratic vote of the membership and transferred the union funds as he had been directed to. Judge Hall, sitting in the first trial, directed the jury to discharge Kelly Postal. He was re-indicted, and convicted on practically the same evidence and by the same witnesses as were introduced in his first trial. The Supreme Court of Minnesota sustained this conviction.

The Michigan C. I. O. has condemned the frame-up of Kelly Postal and urged its locals to give full moral and financial support to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the authorized representative of his defense. In its resolution, the Michigan C. I. O. declared: "The conviction . . . violates

and jeopardizes the democratic rights of trade-union members to decide for themselves the disposition of their funds, and endangers trade-union democracy fully as much as . . . the Smith-Connally Bill." A dangerous precedent has been established: a militant trade-unionist has been railroaded to jail. The Civil Rights Defense Committee is conducting a national campaign to free Kelly Postal. It asks all trade-unionists, all defenders of civil liberties to join in this effort. It asks that letters be sent to Governor Edward Thye, St. Paul, Minnesota, urging that he pardon Kelly Postal. The defense of Kelly Postal is the defense of trade-union democracy in this country; the freeing of Kelly Postal will be an important victory for trade-union democracy in the face of a wave of reaction which seeks to enchain labor by gag acts and other means.

JAMES T. FARRELL, Chairman
Civil Rights Defense Committee
New York, N. Y., August 26

Misplaced Credit

Dear Sirs: In your drama review in *The Nation* of August 28 an amazing error was made. Discussing the Negro as a basis for folk drama, your editor said: "In 'The Green Pastures' Marc Connelly created a charming extravaganza based on Marc Connelly's conception of the Negro's idea of Heaven."

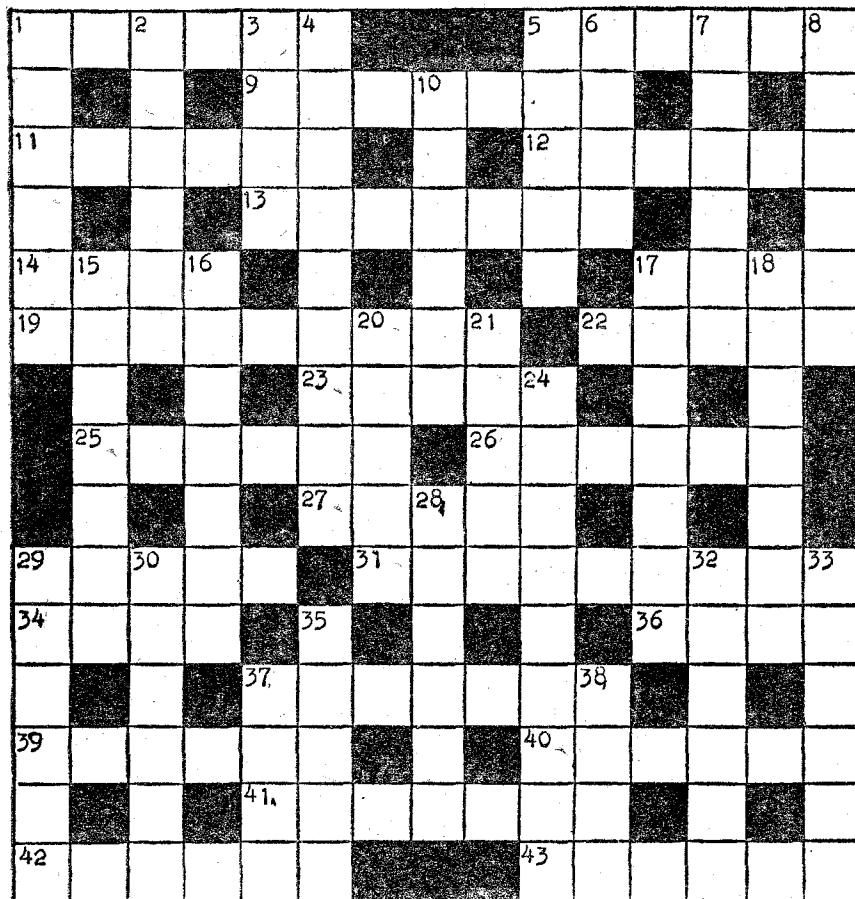
I should like to point out that "The Green Pastures" is merely Marc Connelly's adaptation of Roark Bradford's concept of the Negro idea of Heaven. Too little credit has been given Mr. Bradford and his "Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun" (published by Harper and Brothers in 1928), on which Marc Connelly's play was based. The book supplied a well-worked-out idea of charm and originality, which Mr. Connelly translated into the medium of the stage and movie. I realize the public cannot be blamed for not knowing this when little recognition and billing has been given Roark Bradford, but surely the literary editor of *The Nation* should be better informed. And for her information and delight, I recommend "Ol' Man Adam" to her.

HERMIONE W. ADLER
Birmingham, Ala., August 29

[My abject apologies to Mr. Bradford for a quite inexcusable lapse of memory. I am doubly ashamed because I too am extremely annoyed when the credit for a good piece of work goes to the adapters and producers rather than the creator.—M. M.]

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 29

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 The home of the brave
- 5 Undressed kids
- 9 Though no actor, he knows his lines
- 11 One of the storekeeper's overhead expenses?
- 12 Bird that might get caught in its tail
- 13 I lose it (anag.)
- 14 Pronoun: always singular, now unusual
- 17 He sounds competent
- 19 Spanker, but not required for a spanker
- 22 Rapacious bird of biblical repute
- 23 Supposed dwelling-place of the Muses
- 25 Having the gift of the gab
- 26 Insurance is about the only thing that covers him
- 27 The evil spirit that upsets the world abroad
- 29 Man once swore by it . . . now he swears at it
- 31 Ancient lights
- 34 Something of a libertine, but useful in the garden
- 36 East Indian palm
- 37 P. T. O. to reform (two words, 3 and 4)
- 39 Mother and offspring provide this fruit
- 40 Animals unaffected by beheading!
- 41 Cloth-headed cold-blooded creature with slate tail
- 42 Eve's O. K. (anag.)
- 43 Told tales

DOWN

- 1 You will have to alter the law to make it
- 2 Hot stuff this, so you'd better get a drink first!

- 3 Where stands Pisa today? On this
- 4 Not a name to conjure with; just the rod (two words, 5 and 4)
- 5 Mud volcano
- 6 This is one
- 7 Rising in Germany. (Surely the Reds have nothing to do with it!)
- 8 Pay up
- 10 Stocked up (two words, 4 and 2)
- 15 Look for this pest in a hop leaf (hyphen, 3 and 4)
- 16 A corresponding word
- 17 Palefaces
- 18 I'd get in (anag.)
- 20 A helot is hidden in the inn
- 21 The nut pine
- 24 Fair game (two words, 4 and 5)
- 28 Implement that seems to make me tall
- 29 This kind of path is not an aisle, though it sounds like one
- 30 One way to carry arms
- 32 A picker-up of unconsidered trifles
- 33 Pickled, and thus consumed
- 35 Czech statesman
- 37 Thames lightship known possibly to Americans in England
- 38 Hopper

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 28

ACROSS:—1 MODES; 6 ROOST; 9 THIMBLE; 10 NEVER; 11 AHEAD; 12 ISSUERS; 16 ABRADE; 19 HOSTEL; 22 NEGLIGENT; 23 PLOT; 24 YOHO; 25 ELEMENTAL; 26 MOON; 27 ITCH; 28 NEAT'S-FOOT; 31 INFANT; 33 PUEBLO; 36 MEALIES; 39 OLIVE; 40 TAINT; 41 SHUTTLE; 42 SYLPH; 43 RIDER.
DOWN:—1 MANNA; 2 DOVER; 3 STRIDE; 4 WITS; 5 OBOE; 6 REASON; 7 OVERT; 8 TIDAL; 13 SEGREGATE; 14 UNIVERSAL; 15 RHEOTROPE; 17 BALLOON; 18 ANTENNA; 20 STYLITE; 21 ETHICAL; 29 ENMESH; 30 OUSTER; 31 IDOLS; 32 FRILL; 34 BLIND; 35 OTTER; 37 ARUM; 38 IOTA.

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